



EUROPEAN EXPANSION AND THE CONTESTED BORDERLANDS OF LATE MEDIEVAL PODILLYA, UKRAINE

By
VITALIY MYKHAYLOVSKIY

Amsterdam
University
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ARC HUMANITIES PRESS



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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

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ISBN (print): 9781641890304
eISBN (PDF): 9781641890311

www.arc-humanities.org

Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

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- 1497 Moldavian campaign of King Jan I Olbracht.

ABBREVIATIONS

AGAD	<i>Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych</i> (in Warsaw)
AGZ	<i>Akty grodzkie i ziemskie</i>
АЮЗР	<i>Архив Юго-Западной России</i>
AS	<i>Archiwum ksiąg Łubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie</i>
ASK	<i>Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego</i> (in <i>Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych</i> in Warsaw)
AZ	<i>Archiwum Zamoyskich</i> (in <i>Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych</i> in Warsaw)
Bona Regalia	"Bona Regalia Onerata in terris Russiae etc. Lustratio 1469 r."
CE	<i>Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti</i>
ЦДІАУК	Центральний державний історичний архів України у м. Києві
ЦДІАУЛ	Центральний державний історичний архів України у м. Львові
CV	<i>Codex epistolaris Vitoldi Magni Ducis Lithuaniae 1376–1430</i>
cz.	część
dz.	dział
ф.	фонд
k.	karta
KDM	<i>Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski</i>
KDMK	<i>Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa</i>
МК	<i>Метрика Коронна</i> (in <i>Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych</i> in Warsaw)
MRPS	<i>Matricularum Regni Poloniae summaria</i>
оп.	опис
ПСРЛ	<i>Полное собрание русских летописей</i>
PSB	<i>Polski Słownik Biograficzny</i>
SGKP	<i>Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego</i>
спр.	справа
sygn.	sygnatura
tzw. ML	Tak zwana Metryka Litewska (in <i>Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych</i> in Warsaw)
v.	verso
vol.	volumen
ZDM	<i>Zbiór dokumentów Małopolskich</i>
zesz.	zeszyt

INTRODUCTION

THIS BOOK IS about Podillya, a territory that emerged at a contested borderland between farming communities and nomads in the middle of the fourteenth century. In a European context, this emergence could be considered a late one, but the very location of the region on a European map explains the timing. Located at the very end of the route from the East to the West through which the nomads of Asia migrated to the present-day European territories of Ukraine, Hungary, Moldova, Romania, and Bulgaria, Podillya was the perfect place for nomads to choose either to move farther across the ravines covered with forests and the Carpathian Mountains, or to stay between the Dnieper, the Southern Bug, and the Dniester Rivers. Naturally, nomads chose the steppe, a more familiar environment. So did the farmers, who were reluctant to leave a known area, and chose to stay there until the end of the eighteenth century. Before the middle of the thirteenth century nomads mostly either passed this part of their route without a more extended stop or settled here for a substantial time. This book tells the story of how, under particular circumstances, the confrontations between the settler and nomadic populations resulted in the formation of a new region in the borderland between East and West.

Written history and archaeological evidence testify that the region has been continuously inhabited since the time of the Cimmerians, who were later ousted or assimilated by the Scythians. The history of the Scythians and their successors is similar. Mentioned in written sources, the peoples living between the Dnieper and Dniester Rivers until the late Middle Ages were nomads. Those moving from East to West expelled, exterminated, or assimilated them. This was the fate of those peoples living on the edge of the Eurasian steppe.

Here, in Podillya, Christian nobles met Muslim nomads. This territory emerged in the historical narrative when the Lithuanian dukes and the Polish King Casimir III the Great (1333–1370) divided the legacy of the Ruthenian Kingdom and pushed the Tatars back to the steppe. Over the course of 150 years this territory passed through many dominions: as a western part of the Golden Horde (the Mongol empire); a principality under the Koriatovych brothers; a land partitioned into several sections between the Polish king, Władysław II Jagiełło, and the grand duke of Lithuania, Vytautas; and—after 1434—Podillya Voivodeship (the area administered by a voivode or governor) of the Polish Kingdom, and eastern Podillya as part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This region became a great frontier that hosted cultural and religious diversity, and faced a continuous influx of newcomers both from the West (Germans as town residents, Polish and German nobles as beneficiaries of land rent) and the East (Armenians residing in towns, Tatars serving in the military).

This book tells the history of a region that is unknown to the public due to its location and the absence of Ukrainian history within English-language historiography. In the historiographical map of the world, Podillya, like any other Ukrainian territory, is

situated between a pan-Slavic history and an imperial Russian history aiming to place under its vision everything that has ever been under the control of Moscow or Saint Petersburg. Polish history unconsciously promoted the idea of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, which hardly has any room for Ruthenian/Ukrainians and their territories. However, alongside this, the history of Podillya provides an important story in the multidimensional history of late medieval Europe, since Podillya was contested territory for which both West and East—and, later, North and South—fought. Podillya epitomizes the meeting of two and more worlds at the great frontier. It may appear that this new region was in no way connected to late medieval Europe. Nevertheless, in the fourteenth century, and especially in the fifteenth century, the European border moved eastwards when the Koriatovych brothers' foundation of Podillya Principality led to the establishment of Western-style relations between ruler and subjects, and fostered the dissemination of Catholicism. Moreover, the newcomers from various regions of East/Central Europe brought cultural borrowings that gradually saturated Podillya with European material and spiritual artefacts.

In the context of the history of political centres within Ukrainian lands, the history of Podillya, which began to coalesce only in the middle of the fourteenth century, emerges from preceding centuries. Agricultural tribes living in the forest/steppe zone, and then, after the tenth century, in Kyivan Rus' and the principalities of the Rurikids, either did not dare or did not have opportunities to occupy this vast territory. Sporadic settlements formed around the main rivers, the Dniester and the Southern Bug. In all likelihood, agricultural communities would have moved towards the steppe, following the historical patterns of the frontier territories, if the events of the middle of the thirteenth century had not dramatically changed the history of this part of Europe.

The Great Mongol invasion of Europe from 1240 to 1242 led to the expulsion of the Kipchaks from the Black Sea steppe to Pannonia. The new rulers of the steppe, known later as Tatars, took full advantage of the favourable position of the area between the Dniester and Dnieper Rivers. The formation of the new region was based on control over communication routes from east to west, starting in the Middle Dnieper region, as well as routes from the Dniester estuary between the Dniester and the Prut Rivers and the Dniester and the Southern Bug Rivers. After the division of the Mongol Empire, the region was part of the Ulus of Jochi.

The Ruthenian Kingdom, west of the new rulers of the steppe, claimed a part of these lands. The cities of Bakota, Ushytsya, and Kalius were situated along the middle section of the Dniester, while Bozhsky, Medzhybizh, and other cities were established in the upper straits of the Southern Bug. These cities were the last settlements with a farming population in the east. Neither the prince of Galicia, and later king, Danylo Romanovych (Daniel of Galicia, 1205–1264) nor his successors aimed or wished to expand their possessions eastwards. Nothing changed until the middle of the fourteenth century, when a separate part of the former Mongol Empire on the Dnieper's right bank encountered a new challenge. And it did not come from the east, which would have been a logical assumption based on the history of the steppe in the northern Black Sea region.

The threat to the Tatar rulers came instead from the north, where the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had begun an astonishing period of its history. The non-Christian Baltic

tribes, united under the rule of Gediminas (1316–1341), began to expand their territories through the Ruthenian principalities at breathtaking speed at this time. Having occupied a significant part of Kyivan Rus' south of Kyiv, the Lithuanians faced a new enemy also aiming to conquer new territories. The difference was that, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the Golden Horde was weak and had disintegrated after the civil war, and therefore had nothing in common with the mid-thirteenth-century Mongol Empire. A century of Tatar rule had resulted in the formation of a separate region on the right bank of the Dnieper, or even several regions with their rulers. We learn about them only after the Battle of Blue Waters (Syni Vody), after which this vast region was taken under the control of the Lithuanian duchies. The changes that occurred here under the rule of Gediminas's heirs gave it the present-day name of Podillya.

Podillya became the easternmost province of Europe from that time. I use the term "Europe" here to designate a community of Christian states (in both the Latin and Byzantium traditions), located between the Dnieper River in the east and the Atlantic coast in the west; between the Baltic and Northern Seas to the north and the Mediterranean Sea to the south. It received the name of Podillya Principality under the rule of the Koriatovyches, the sons of Koriat and grandsons of Gediminas. Could the activity of the Koriatovyches be considered a typical struggle over contested border territories? This is unlikely, since the parties that competed over Podillya were not the Ruthenians and the Tatars, who inhabited the disputed lands, but the Tatars and the Lithuanians, whose ethnic and core state territories were situated thousands of kilometres northwest of Podillya. This does not mean that local Ruthenians had no conflicts or struggles with Tatars, just that there is an absence of sources. The fights over Podillya should not be interpreted as an inverted crusade, in which the Tatars, who had converted to Islam by that time, fought and defended themselves against Christians. It might seem this way from the outside. Yet one of the Tatar rulers of Podillya was named Dmytro, which is definitely a Christian name. Such a name makes interpretation more complicated: Lithuanians, who were pagans, along with Ruthenians, who were Christians, fought against Tatars, who were Muslims, but whose leaders included Christians, over the new lands. Algirdas won the Battle of Blue Waters with troops consisting not only of Lithuanians but also of Ruthenians from Rus' principalities that had been conquered earlier. Thus, the Lithuanian raids did not have any ideological basis, only the intention of enlarging territorial enlargement. It is hard to say why the Lithuanians came such an extremely long way from the forests of Aukstaitija and Zemaitija, given their facility for expanding their territories.

Having conquered new territories in the 1360s, the new rulers of Podillya, the Koriatovyches, the grandsons of Gediminas, gained control over the communication routes by which eastern goods, such as expensive textiles and spices, had been exported to that part of Europe, and slaves had been imported in the opposite direction. The Genoese, who made the Black Sea their sphere of financial and political influence in the fourteenth century, served as intermediaries in this trade. Despite their Lithuanian origins, the Koriatovyches were Christians and sought the support not of their large family but of the Christian rulers of the Kingdom of Poland and the Kingdom of Hungary in the West, in order to maintain their power in Podillya. Their search for allies influenced the later history of the region.

From that period onwards the history of the new province depended on the West rather than the East. However, the East and its attempts to take revenge through periodic damaging invasions continued to affect Podillya until the end of the eighteenth century. The dynastic crises of the Kingdoms of Poland and Hungary in the 1370s and 1380s, which ended up with the marriages of Louis I of Hungary's daughters (Mary's marriage to Sigismund of Luxemburg and Hedwig's marriage to Jogaila), brought an end to uncertainty within each kingdom and catalyzed their demands over Podillya. The Podolian question was probably not a chief concern for either kingdom, but it became the subject of dispute between Kings Władysław II Jagiełło and Sigismund of Luxemburg, acceded to by Vytautas, the ruler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and a supporter of Khan Tokhtamysh, a legitimate ruler of the Golden Horde. Jogaila, the Polish King Władysław II Jagiełło after 1386, understood the Podolian question better than his brother-in-law Sigismund of Luxemburg.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, after fifty years of rivalry, Podillya was divided into two parts: the Kingdom of Poland obtained its western part, while the Grand Duchy of Lithuania received its eastern part. The Kingdom of Hungary lost any rights to this territory, while the Tatars, former rulers of the region, ceded the right of ownership over Podillya to the grand duke of Lithuania. The situation was complex. The Tatars were founding fathers of the area and thus had rights of ownership, whereas the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had conquered Podillya and its claims were based on the *ius occupandi*, the right of the strongest. The Kingdom of Poland believed that its right of ownership had been confirmed by the Koriatovyches' oath of loyalty to King Casimir III the Great. The Kingdom of Hungary, on the other hand, deferred to the Koriatovyches' oath to Louis I of Hungary, who had held both the Polish and Hungarian crowns at the same time. So, who had the greatest rights to Podillya?

They all had rights, but they were limited in different ways. The Tatars lacked power, the Hungarians lacked a common border with Podillya. The Lithuanians and Poles had argued over the rights of ownership until the youngest son of Władysław II Jagiełło, Casimir IV, solved the debate. Then Podillya was divided between the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for more than a century, until 1569, when, according to the Sejm of Lublin, both parts of one historical region "met" within a single state. But at that point they completely forgot their common origin.

The kaleidoscope of Podolian rulers in the second half of the fourteenth century and the fifteenth demonstrates that the easternmost European province was so attractive to Central European states that, despite family ties and vassal bonds (a personal union consolidated the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1385 in Krewa), they had been arguing over Podillya for several decades. Meanwhile, the former Tatar rulers played an insignificant role. Nevertheless, taking into account the khan' *yarliqs* (documents that legitimized someone's right to rule over a certain territory that belonged to the khan), which since the time of Tokhtamysh, and then from the second half of the fifteenth century to the end of the sixteenth, had been given by the rulers of the Crimean Khanate, Podillya *de jure* was considered to be a Tatar property.

A contested territory on the great frontier should involve at least two interested candidates. In the late Middle Ages there were more than enough contenders for

Podillya, and in the second half of the fourteenth century and the fifteenth there were always more than two competitors fighting for this territory.

A Contested Border with More than Two Contenders

A frontier or a contested territory is usually the subject of dispute between two parties: the stronger one aims to extend its territory, taking advantage of the weaker. However, it is possible that more than two parties compete for one area. The latter does not fit a basic frontier concept, according to which there should be a border dividing completely different groups. In the context of Podillya, the nomads and the farmers constituted such groups. But one should keep in mind the conventional nature of this division so as to avoid the biases of the national narratives justifying those who lived west of the border and accusing those who lived east of the border.

The distinctive feature of the contested territories between the Dnieper and the Dniester is that it was the Tatars, the nomads, who owned the land where the settled population lived. This agricultural population had not been expelled from the steppe and were living there even when the Lithuanian duchies came and founded a principality there. The paradox of the situation derives from the fact that all these events took place very far from the core of the Lithuanian duchy. It undoubtedly became "Grand" during the first half of the fourteenth century, but it is hard to believe in any antagonism between Lithuanians and Tatars, as well as in the call of the settled population for their liberation from the rule of the Tatars.

After the emergence of Podillya Principality, the significance of the Lithuanian factor was so great that even the common origin of the Koriatovyches with Władysław II Jagiełło and Vytautas would not guarantee a peaceful life. Since Vytautas, as the ruler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, had abolished almost all *udels* (personal possessions of princes) of the Gediminids, the Koriatovyches had no choice but to flee to the Hungarian Kingdom. If previously only Lithuanians and Tatars had argued over Podillya, after the granting of territory in Podillya to Spytek of Melsztyn, the voivode of Kraków and starosta of Kraków castle district (he held both positions at the same time, managing the whole voivodeship and, as a starosta, representing the king in the Kraków castle district), the region became the centre of attention not only of the nobility of Lesser Poland but also of the nobility of the Polish Kingdom and other Central European states. The territory triggered a number of traditional frontier motivations, such as opportunities for enrichment or receiving new or the only lands. Therefore, two parties started to compete with the Tatars: the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Each aimed to secure total control over the whole of Podillya, resulting in the partition of the region into several parts. It turned out to be a peculiar Podolian pie, of which the western part belonged to the Ruthenian domain of the king, whereas the eastern part remained under the power of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

However, there was one more player in the historical scene of Podolian struggles. The Principality of Moldavia, a Christian state, had been a vassal state of the Polish Crown since 1387, which implies that Moldavia should have been neutral regarding the adjacent territory across the Dniester. But its political orientation changed after the

political upheavals in the principality from the 1430s to the 1450s and the Ottoman Empire's move northwards after 1453. The ruler of Moldavia, Stefan III, tried not to make it apparent that the principality was the Polish Kingdom's vassal. However, the shared border with the Moldavian Principality posed an additional danger for Podillya, because the raids from Moldavia were no less harmful than the Tatar ones. After the capture of Bilhorod (now Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy) by the Turks in 1484 the Principality of Moldavia became the sultan's vassal state, obliged to pay an annual tribute. The Turks terrified the rulers of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania so much that they kept peaceful relations with the Ottoman Empire after a crushing defeat in the autumn of 1497.

In the late fifteenth century the status quo in Podillya looked like this: the Kingdom of Poland had the western part of the region, of which historical Podillya belonged to the Halych land of the Ruthenian Voivodeship, whereas the lands near the capital city, Kamyanets, constituted Podillya Voivodeship. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania owned the eastern part of Podillya, with Bratslav as its main city. Eastern Podillya became the fiefdom of Volhynian princes after the civil war in the 1430s, when it had been under the control of Švitrigaila, one of the candidates to the throne who later resided in Volhynia. Connecting Volhynia and eastern Podillya, the Volhynian prince Mykhailo Chortoryskiy had been the starosta in Bratslav for a long time. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Hungarian Kingdom had no aspirations concerning Podillya, but the Tatars had not disappeared from the stage. Moreover, they remained the *de facto* rulers of the region.

The emergence of the Crimean Khanate under the rule of the Girays in the western part of the Golden Horde brought a new dimension into the relations of the Tatars with the western states. The Tatars listed Podillya among "granted" territories in the *yarliqs* they gave to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The documentation of these lands confirms that the Tatars knew and understood their rights to the territories, and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, accepting these documents, was aware of the Tatars' status, but *de facto* owned the lands. The Tatars were the owners, but the Lithuanians were the rulers of Podillya.

The tangled relationships described above have hardly any place for Ruthenians, who constituted the majority of the Podolian population. Without them, the struggles between Tatars and Lithuanians, which the Poles joined later, would have been over uninhabited or sparsely populated territories. The Ruthenian nobility of Podillya Voivodeship did not hold office in the fifteenth century. Few of them received lands from the king. As a result of this situation, it is widely believed that Podillya was colonized, inhabited, and built by newcomers from the West. But it was not. Sixteenth-century sources on the history of Podillya demonstrate that a great number of Ruthenians lived there and constituted a significant part of the local nobility. Moreover, Ruthenian city dwellers and peasants outnumbered other ethnic groups. The only exception was the capital city of Kamyanets, where the Ruthenians had the least power compared to other ethnic communities.

To close the topic of the peculiarities of the Podolian frontier, I would like to mention the processes that started in the 1470s with the aim of defending the border of the Polish Kingdom from Tatar raids. The introduction of the Current Defence (*obrona potoczna*) led to the arrival of mercenaries from the Polish Kingdom as well as from neighbouring

states, especially the Czech Kingdom, in Podillya. This inflow transformed the population of the region and made it more diverse. Not only could one hear the Ruthenian language in Podillya but also Polish, Czech, German, Hungarian, and Tatar. Besides, there were significant numbers of Tatars appointed to royal offices.

Podillya came to prominence on a great divide between the steppe and forest/steppe areas in the course of confrontation between farmers and nomads. There were two forces that shaped this process: a constituency of provisional farmers led by Lithuanian princes, and a constituency of provisional nomads represented not only by Muslims but also by Christians.

On Those Who Have Researched Podillya

Historians have started studying the history of Podillya only relatively recently. The events concerning Podillya were certainly described in the annals and historical works of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Some narratives, such as the *Chronicle* by Maciej Strykowski, are still used in current historical scholarship. Nevertheless, the history of Podillya remains quite a young field of study, due to the time of the region's emergence. Unlike the neighbouring regions that start their account from the tenth century, such as Kyiv, or the eleventh century, such as Volodymyr (the old capital of Volhynia), or the twelfth, such as Halych, the story of Podillya does not begin until the second half of the fourteenth century, and is much shorter. Therefore, the scope for research into Podillya's history is also quite modest. A number of events related to Podillya in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ended up being written into several national narratives and incorporated in the historiographical canon. The following are several examples of these: the Battle of Blue Waters; the arrival of the Koriatovyches in Podillya; the granting of the western part of Podillya to Spytek of Melsztyn; the granting of Podillya for life to Vytautas after the Battle of Grunwald; and the seizure of Kamyanets by pro-Crown nobility after the death of Vytautas in 1430. As one can see from the list, it ends in the early fifteenth century—which can also be explained.

Historians who in the second half of the nineteenth century paid attention to the history of Podillya can be divided into two opposing groups. Those living in the Russian Empire tried to write a history of the region as a part of an all-Ruthenian history, making it an element in an all-Russian history according to the conventional historical framework of that time. Despite his pro-Ukrainian sympathies, Nikandr Molchanovsky (1858–1906) wrote his first work on the history of Podillya, *An Overview of Podillya before 1434 (According Mostly to Chronicles)* (Kyiv, 1885), from the perspective of Russian history. As with any plot from the history of Ukraine, Podillya's history was used as an example of how Poles and Lithuanians had conquered Ukrainian lands. Moreover, the attitude towards “the Lithuanian invasion” was more tolerant, because it fit well yet another invention of Russian imperial historiography, namely—the Lithuanian/Ruthenian state.

Another scholar, from a pro-Polish cohort, Kazimierz Ferdinand Pułaski (1846–1926), was a descendant of Bar Confederates (his great-grandfather took part in the events of 1768–1771 and was the brother of Kazimierz Pułaski, one of the Bar Confederation's

leaders, a participant in the American War of Independence and a creator of American cavalry). He was probably the first to use the district and castle judicial books of Kamyianets, stored in Kyiv, in his numerous works on the history of Podillya. His historical and genealogical essays, published in the four-volume edition *Essays and Historical Inquires* (Kraków, 1887; Petersburg, 1898; Kraków, 1906; Lviv, 1909), have remained a valuable contribution to historiography. Published in Brody in 1911, the first part of *Annals of Polish Noble Families of Podillya, Volhynia, and Ukraine: Monographs and References* can serve as the introduction to the history of Podolian nobility. The second part of this work was published only in 1991 in Warsaw, after Sławomir Górzyński and Tadeusz Epsztajn had found the manuscript of the second volume, previously thought to be lost. Written in a post-Romantic manner, with heroes glorified, research by Pułaski fell within the positivist approach to historiography. In his works, Pułaski introduced a large number of facts on the history of Podillya in line with the scope of the Polish historical narrative.

One of the most famous Ukrainian historians, the author of the main and the most influential master narrative in Ukrainian historiography, Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866–1934) began his academic career studying the history of Podillya. Like his elder colleague Nikandr Molchanovsky, he received an assignment on local history from his teacher, Volodymyr Antonovych. His topic was not Podillya but one of its starostvos, Bar Starostwo. His work resulted in the publication of *Bar Starostwo, Historical Essays (15th–18th Centuries)* (Kyiv, 1894) and two volumes of documents in *Archive of South-Western Russia* (part 8, volumes 1–2, Kyiv, 1893–1894). Vast amounts of factual information and reference to, and the publication of, primary sources (many of which are not available anymore) have made this research an outstanding example of the study of regions within Ukrainian lands in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period. Having been appointed to the position of Professor of Ukrainian History at Lviv University, not least due to his research, Hrushevsky continued his inquiry into Podillya. And that was the reason there are so many stories related to Podillya in his multi-volume *History of Ukraine–Rus'* (Lviv/Kyiv, 1895–1933). Despite the dates of publication and his Narodnik position in the master narrative of Ukrainian history, Hrushevsky became the person who presented his vision of an independent Ukrainian history, which also described the history of Podillya. But his vision conflicted with the Russian imperial version of history and the Polish historical narrative, since both treated the Ukrainian narrative as inessential and never bothered to produce distinct local histories.

The turbulent events of the early twentieth century did not prevent Leon Białkowski (1885–1952) from having a career in history. He was born in Podillya and authored several main studies on the history of the region, especially his work *on Podillya in the 16th Century: Social and Economic Features* (Warsaw, 1920). Based on the district books of Kamyianets, the book depicts Podillya Voivodeship in the sixteenth century, when new economic developments and political changes led to the elimination of the internal Podolian border and the resumption of contacts between the western and eastern parts of historical Podillya. Białkowski even had a chance to work as a Privatdozent in Kamyianets-Podilsky State University, founded in 1918, where he taught history. His book *The Murafa River in the 15th–16th Centuries* (Kamyianets-Podilsky, 1920) was the first

historical work about the border of Podillya Voivodeship. In this research, Białkowski attempts to categorize Podolian nobility on an ethnic basis. According to him, there were three times more “Poles” than “Ruthenians,” a claim he explained in a traditional way for Polish historiography—by the influx of landless or smallholder nobility from the Crown voivodeships to the devastated Podillya, where they had a chance to receive landholdings and begin new lives. Białkowski’s arguments followed the line of frontier history or the history of contested territories.

Changes in Central/Eastern Europe after the revolutions and the emergence of national states between 1917 and 1921 and the subsequent repressions in the Soviet Union from the late 1920s led to the massacre of a group of historians writing and producing new Ukrainian historical scholarship. New ideology and censorship removed an innocent (at first glance) history of Podillya from the field of interest of young historians in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

In the early 1960s the historian Professor Mykola Krykun (b. 1932), from Lviv, started his research into Podillya Voivodeship’s demography in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His inquiries served as an impetus for learning more about Podillya’s history in previous centuries. In his work *Administrative System of Right-Bank Ukraine, 15th–18th Centuries: Borders of Voivodeships in the Light of Sources* (Kyiv, 1993), Krykun dedicates one chapter to Podillya Voivodeship’s borders. A lot of his publications address the issue of the introduction of Crown (Polish) law in Ruthenian lands, and Podillya in particular, as well as the county system of Podillya Voivodeship in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These and other articles on Podillya’s history were further elaborated in the succeeding years and published in the collection of essays titled *Podillya Voivodeship in the 15th–16th Centuries: Articles and Materials* (Lviv, 2011). Krykun’s research has laid a sound basis for the study of the history of Podillya by future generations of historians, equipping them with clearly established boundaries, a description of the administrative system, and the details about the number of settlements and people living there in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the 1990s a Kraków historian, Janusz Kurtyka (1960–2010), started his research into the medieval history of Podillya. His route to this topic began with the publication of the work *Podolian Officials in the 14th–18th Centuries: The Registry* (Kórnik, 1998), in which he authored a preface, and, along with Anna Sochacka, he edited the list of officials before the Union of Lublin (1569). Later, in his articles, he highlighted various aspects of the region’s history, from an overview of Podillya’s history up to the middle of the fifteenth century, to the earliest documents of the Franciscans in Kamyanets and Teodoryk from Buczacz’s appointment as the starosta of Kamyanets in 1442, and others. The idea of putting information about Podillya’s documents before 1430 in order, which he later implemented in the form of registers with comments, also belongs to him. All these materials were published posthumously in *Podole in the Time of the Jagiellonian Dynasty: Research and Materials* in 2011. Thanks to a comprehensive analysis of primary sources, the broad historical context, and the exhaustive historiography of his works, Kurtyka has a recognized position among historians of Podillya. He belonged to that generation of Polish historians who, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, began studying territories that had been a part of the Polish Kingdom and the Polish–Lithuanian

Commonwealth located beyond the Curzon Line, which the Soviets had not allowed to be studied.

My interest in medieval Podillya began in the mid-1990s, when I was studying in Kamyanets-Podilsky State Pedagogical Institute. The impetus that propelled me to study Podolian history was simple: this topic—or, rather, Podolian nobility—had not been covered in Ukrainian historiography. My work resulted in a PhD dissertation titled *Land Assignment Policy of the Western Podillya Rulers, 1402–1506*, which was defended in the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in 2004. My contacts with Mykola Krykun and Janusz Kurtyka and long conversations in Lviv, Kraków, and Kyiv have fostered my understanding of what I was dealing with as a researcher. My further study of the region's history resulted in a number of articles and a book titled *Elastic Community: Podolian Nobility from the Second Half of the 14th Century to the 1570s* (Kyiv, 2012), defended as my doctor of historical science's dissertation in 2013. The present book is a result of a thorough elaboration of topics that I have already investigated in my previous works and my new research.

About the Book

The first chapter introduces Podillya in the context of the Ruthenian lands in the late medieval period and covers its geographic borders and major urban centres, which emerged in the second half of the fourteenth century.

The second chapter relates the political history of Podillya Principality under the rule of the Koriatovych brothers, who came to own the territory in the 1350s and governed until 1394. Their vassal dependence fluctuated between the grand duke of Lithuania and the Polish and Hungarian kings, and their refusal to swear allegiance to the Polish King Władysław II Jagiełło led in 1394 to Podillya being partitioned between the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The history of Podillya in the second half of the fourteenth century demonstrates several important examples of how the limited potential of a European political career at home pushed these ambitious members of the ruling dynasty, the Koriatovych brothers, to seek out their principality and expand beyond the homeland in Lithuania, as far as the western part of the Golden Horde. The failure of their principality due to a lack of readiness to alter their allegiance is an unusual case for a frontier state. It shows that the sustainability of any frontier-based political formation, such as Podillya, demands significant military and demographic resources. The third chapter addresses the two states' struggle over Podillya in the fifteenth century. It became one of the most bitter battles on Ruthenian lands when the political situation after the victory at Grunwald drew the majority of territories under the rule of the Grand Lithuanian Duke Vytautas. His death in 1430 again provoked a military conflict—this time between brothers Władysław II Jagiełło and Švitrigaila. As a result, the Polish Kingdom acquired Podillya's western part while the Grand Duchy of Lithuania received the eastern territory. The protracted competition for this region between different polities, lasting more than half a century, shows the significance of the area with regard to its border-defending function. Repeated transitions of Podillya from one ruler to another made it a liminal space. After its partition it evolved into a form of shield for this part of

Europe, serving, on the one hand, as a region that provided security and, on the other hand, as a training ground for the acquisition of military and social skills, of new multicultural contacts, and—for some—as a short cut to new status.

The fourth chapter traces the formation of Podillya Voivodeship in 1434, and the emergence of a regional community of nobility (the term “noble corporation” is used in the Ukrainian and Polish historiographic traditions: a community of nobles united by shared status, values, and connections). The growing prevalence of Polish law and the distribution of land benefices to non-Ruthenian nobles attracted newcomers to the territory. These incomers, often from ethnically Ruthenian lands, adapted quickly to their new environment. In turn, repeated and ongoing minor military skirmishes on the great border gave rise to a high population turnover, rendering Podillya what Janusz Kurtyka has aptly termed “a rotating borderland.” These idiosyncratic conditions (for Ruthenian lands) bred a uniquely elastic community of Podolian nobility—a constituency with a high level of adaptability to transforming realities. Podillya, which never experienced the Crusades, offers an example of a painless permeation of Eastern and Western cultures, which is atypical for medieval Europe.

The history of Podillya as a liminal space thus expands our understanding of medieval history and shows how European history, in its various manifestations, offers up both similarity and diversity.

It is not easy to write a book in English on the history of one of the regions of Eastern Europe, where the main languages of documentary sources are Ruthenian, Latin, and Polish, while historiography has spoken about the region in Ukrainian, Polish, Russian, Lithuanian, Belorussian, Romanian, and Hungarian. Each language presents its own historical tradition of spelling geographical and personal names. This book introduces a great number of new locations and names from the far border of medieval Europe in the east to an English-speaking audience. Some of them, mostly big players, such as King Casimir III the Great or the Crimean Khanate, already have established spellings in the English tradition, and I have followed these in my narrative. In the case of Podillya and all the geographical names on its territory, I have used a transliteration from the Ukrainian—“Podillya”—rather than “Podole” from Polish or “Podoliae” from Latin. For local people I also followed a Ukrainian transliteration. For non-local people (Poles, Lithuanians, Czechs, Moldavians) I tried to use the spellings prevalent in the territories of their origin. The nobles of Buczacz present a complicated case. In English scholarship they are known by the Polish spelling, which I followed. However, for the city of Buchach, located at the western border of Podillya next to the Ruthenian Voivodeship, I spelled using transliteration from Ukrainian: Buchach, as opposed to Buczacz. For transliteration I followed the BGN/PCGN 1965 standard, as used by the United Nations and approved in the United States and Great Britain, for an intuitive reading of Cyrillic.

One of the most pleasant parts of the introduction is the one when the author has an opportunity to thank those who made the publication of this book possible. I would like to thank Christian Raffensperger from Wittenberg University (Springfield, Ohio), who, for almost a year, kept encouraging me to write this book, for his invaluable support

while establishing the book's framework and negotiating with the publisher. Thank you, Christian. I would also like to thank my colleague Borys Cherkas at the Institute of History of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kyiv) for his comments and remarks on the Tatar period of Podolian history. Thanks to the hospitality and assistance of Monika and Adrian Jusupović from the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw), I had an opportunity to read a significant number of recently published Polish historical books, which significantly supplemented this book. I am also grateful to my colleague Tetyana Grygorieva from the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Tetyana, this is the second book that has appeared thanks to your support.

I would like to thank Kateryna Kostohryz for her help in completing the book. Her attention to detail and thorough work helped me to avoid some inaccuracies while adapting the Ukrainian language of historians, which I use most of the time, to English.

My special thanks go to students from my courses "Medieval History of Ukraine" and "History of the Premodern City," taught in the Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University, and "History of Ruthenian Lands in the Polish Kingdom, 1340–1572," my course in the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. You all helped me to shape my views on the issues, events, and protagonists depicted in the present book.

I would also like to thank my wife, Yuliya Tkachuk (PhD in comparative literature). Her critical comments on my text stimulated me to improve it continually. She read the entire manuscript and helped me finalize it before submitting it to the publisher.

My great thanks go to the editors of this book – senior acquisitions editor Dr. Anna Henderson and copy-editor Mike Richardson – for their lengthy correspondence and meticulous work regarding the text, which improved it tremendously. Finally, I express my highest appreciation to ARC Humanities Press for establishing the series **Beyond Medieval Europe** and providing me with an opportunity to present the history of a less-known part of Europe to broader audiences.

Chapter I

THE REGION WITH A NEW NAME IN RUTHENIAN LANDS AFTER 1340

THE NAME *PODILLYA* (*Поділля*) consists of two parts—prefix *-Po-* (*-По-*), which means “over,” and root *-dil-/dol-* (*-діл-/дол-*), which means “dale”—forming a word, “over-the-dale,” that in the plural also refers to “the land of valleys” and has designated the region since the middle of the fourteenth century. In the primary sources written in the Ruthenian language of that time, the name of the region is usually used together with the word “land”: *Подольскоу земли* (1375),¹ *Подольскоу земли* (1391),² *Подолскоу з(е)мли* (1401),³ or simple *оу Подолѣи* (1429).⁴ Latin sources used a loan translation from the Ruthenian language, *terra Podolie* (1395),⁵ while German sources used *Podolien* (1375,⁶ 1385).⁷

Trying to explain the etymology of the word, linguists and historians have limited themselves to emphasizing that the name indicated the territory located on the Dniester River, downstream of Halych, one of the capital cities; it explains *dol/dil* (*дол/діл*) in the root of the word. To strengthen this theory, they have used the previous name of the region, *Ponyzzya*, which consists of the prefix *-po-* (*-но-*) and the root *-nyz-* (*-низ-*), which is the synonym of *dol/dil* (*дол/діл*). The name “*Ponyzzya*” is mentioned several times in the Galician–Volhynian Chronicle during the thirteenth century. It was recorded for the first time under the year 1228 in the context of negotiations between two princes, Danylo Romanovych (Daniel of Galicia) and Mstyslav Mstyslavovych, when the latter promised to give *Ponyzzya* to the former.⁸ Then the region was mentioned under the year 1240, when the Mongols seized Kyiv, and Dobroslav Sudych conquered Bakota and “accepted whole *Ponyzzya* without duke’s permit.”⁹

1 Володимир Розов, *Українські грамоти. Том перший (XIV в. і перша половина XV в.)* (Київ, 1928), № 10, 20.

2 Аляксандр Груша, “Невядомая грамата Фёдара Карыятовича за 1391 г.,” *Беларускі гістарычны агляд* 8, no. 1/2 (2001), 130.

3 Сергей Полехов, *Наследники Витовта: Династическая война в Великом княжестве Литовском в 30-е годы XV века* (Москва: Индрик, 2015), № 1, 512.

4 Розов, *Українські грамоти*, № 61, 112.

5 *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi Magni Ducis Lithuaniae 1376–1430*, ed. Antoni Prochaska (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1882), № 115, 38; *Zbiór dokumentów Małopolskich*, ed. Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś and Stanisław Kuraś, vol. 6: *Dokumenty króla Władysława Jagiełły z lat 1386–1417* (Wrocław: Zakład narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1974), № 1843, 466–68.

6 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa*, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, vol. 1: *1257–1506* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1879), № 47, 57.

7 *Ibid.*, № 60, 74.

8 *Полное собрание русских летописей* (Санкт-Петербург, 1908), vol. 2, 572.

9 *Ibid.*, 789: *Все Понижье приа. Без княжа повеления.*



Figure 1 Cave of the Eastern Orthodox monastery in Bakota, the capital city of Ponyzzya in the thirteenth century. 2008. Photo by Vitaliy Mykhaylovskiy.

In general, all mentions of Ponyzzya in the chronicle pertain to Bakota, the main city of the region. This marking allows us to assert that thirteenth-century Ponyzzya is not identical to Podillya in the second half of the fourteenth century, which stretched beyond Bakota for hundreds of kilometres eastwards. Yaroslav Dashkevych is right in stating that the name "Podillya" derives from the large number of dales filled with rivers in the Dniester River basin, and consequently means "the land/state of dales."¹⁰ (Figure 1).

The easternmost province under the rule of the Kingdom of Rus' in the middle of the thirteenth century, Ponyzzya probably became, if not the westernmost domain of the Tatars, then a specific buffer zone after the decline of the Romanovyches' authority at the end of the 1250s, when this part of the future Podillya obtained the status of an indeterminate territory. These suggestions are based on the complete lack of any mention of the region in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle after the devastating raids of Kuremsa in 1259 and Boroldai in 1260/61.¹¹

¹⁰ Ярослав Дашкевич, "Поділля: виникнення і значення назви," in Ярослав Дашкевич, *Майстерня історика: Джерелознавство та спеціальні історичні дисципліни* (Львів: Літературна агенція "Піраміда", 2011), 505–6.

¹¹ *ПСРЛ*, vol. 2, 840–43, 846–48.

The involvement of Lev Danylovych (Leo I of Galicia) in the conflict with the western and northern neighbours of the Kingdom of Rus' might have caused its loss of influence over Ponyzzya at the end of the thirteenth century, while at the same time the Tatar rulers took the area under control. The complete lack of sources regarding events in Ponyzzya at this time means that it is impossible to talk about the history of the region then.

What was happening on the eastern side of the conditional frontier, where the new rulers of the vast northern Black Sea steppe were acclimatizing to the new realities and new neighbours? The activities of Genoa and Venice in the basin of the Black and Azov Seas, where at the turn of the century these city states had established trading posts, served as an impetus for the western part of the Ulus of Jochi. Finding a sustainable route for the overland transportation of goods from the east was one of the priorities for Genoa and Venice. It is in this context that Bilhorod (contemporary Bilhorod-Dnistrovsky), called Moncastro by the Genoese who settled there in the thirteenth century, played a significant role for the future Podillya. In view of the significance of its location, Bilhorod became an important commercial centre, and Władysław III (king of Poland and Hungary from 1440) had made repeated attempts to take control over the territory in the early 1440s using his royal officials in Podillya.¹² Captured by the Turks in 1484 (who renamed it Akkerman), Bilhorod became the main foothold of the Ottoman Empire in this region and connected land and sea trading routes in the northwestern part of the Black Sea, to some extent playing the role of the northern Ottoman frontier.¹³

The arrival of new population groups entailed the transformation of the locals. Ethnic changes in Ponyzzya and between the Dniester and Southern Bug Rivers after the 1240s catalyzed the formation of Kuremsa's possessions in this region, ruled by his sons Abadjy, Karadjy, and Yandjy.¹⁴ In the middle of the fourteenth century the territory obtained new rulers, known from the chronicles as the so-called "Tatar kings," who lost the Battle of Blue Waters. Their possessions endured here until the second half of the fourteenth century, and later they were conquered by the Koriatovych brothers.¹⁵ Established in the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth, such a configuration of power most likely provided a basis for perceptions of this

12 Віталій Михайловський, "Привілей короля Владислава III на кам'янецьке староство для Теодорика з Бучача 1442 р.," in *Наукові праці Кам'янець-Подільського Державного педагогічного університету: Історичні науки*, vol. 11 (Кам'янець-Подільський: Оіюм, 2003), 44–58; Janusz Kurtyka, "Nadanie starostwa podolskiego Teodorykowi z Buczacza z r. 1442 (z dziejów królewskiej na Podolu w XV i XVI wieku)," in *Księga jubileuszowa profesora Feliksa Kiryka (Annales Academiae Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Wydanie specjalne, folia 21: Studia Historica III 2004)* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2004), 69–102.

13 Victor Ostapchuk and Svitlana Bilyayeva, "The Ottoman Northern Black Sea Frontier at Akkerman Fortress: The View from a Historical and Archaeological Project," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, ed. Andrew S. C. Peacock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 137–70.

14 Борис Черкас, *Західні володіння улусу Джучи: Політична історія, територіально-адміністративний устрій, економіка, міста (XIII–XIV ст.)* (Київ, 2014), 250–52.

15 Ігор Скочилиас, "Галич після Галича: Пониззя (Русо-Влахія) у XII–XIV століттях," *Княжа доба: історія і культура* 5 (2011), 45–47.

large region in Eastern Europe in the future. It prevailed until the third decade of the fifteenth century, when the history of the Lithuanian dukes in their conquest of Podillya was recorded for the first time.

The peculiarity of this part of Europe, which had never belonged to any principality previously, was weak urbanization of the lands reaching the middle stretch of the Dniester River in the thirteenth century. The easternmost cities mentioned in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle are Kalius and Kuchelmen. Another group of cities, recorded as part of the future Podillya, are settlements in the upper Southern Bug River between Medzhybizh, known from chronicles, to today's Ladyzhyn in Vinnytsya oblast¹⁶ (for more, see [Chapter 3](#)). Interestingly, the chronicle portrays the links between these two regions as weak, in line with a horizontal east-west network of roads at that time. For example, on Batu's way to the west, after seizing Kyiv, his army conquered Kamyanets (in the Volhynia region), Izyaslav, Volodymyr, and Halych, but had no military activity in the middle stretch of the Dniester River.¹⁷

Unfortunately, we know nothing about the attitude of the Rus' Kingdom's rulers to these "Tatar states" in the first half of the fourteenth century. This was likely to be the time when the tendency to peaceful coexistence began to emerge, since neither of them had any resources to carry out military operations to subjugate the enemy's territories. Eastward advance by the Kingdom of Rus' was not possible due to the lack of a network of cities, because the largest city to the east from Halych was Terebovlya. The Tatar rulers of Ponyzzya, given the changes within the Golden Horde and the steppe world in the fourteenth century, did not have enough resources to continue their expansion westwards. And did they need to? Probably not, since, as we know from the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, the raids of Kuremsa and Boroldai did not result in direct rule over the territories controlled by Danylo Romanovych, duke of Halych, and his descendants.

A similar symbiotic relationship also existed in the early fourteenth century during the reign of Yuri Lvovych (Yuri I of Galicia) and his sons Andriy and Lev, who ruled together. The death of Andriy and Lev, the last Romanovyches on the throne of the Kingdom of Rus', in 1323 caused the coming to power of Bolesław Trojdenowicz, the son of Trojden I of Mazovia and Maria, the daughter of Yuri I of Galicia (Bolesław-Jerzy II).¹⁸ There is no mention of either Podillya or Ponyzzya in documents from the time of Bolesław's reign. The absence of chronicles since the first half of the fourteenth century makes any reconstruction of the events of this time from the perspective of the Kingdom of Rus' impossible.

Dramatic changes took place after 1340, when the Kingdom of Rus' was divided between two candidates after the poisoning of its last ruler. The long-standing conflict

16 Андрей Куза, *Древнерусские городища X-XIII вв: Свод археологических памятников* (Москва: Христианское издательство, 1996), 204–8.

17 ПСРЛ, vol. 2, 786.

18 Болеслав-Юрій II, князь всей Малой Руси: Сборник материалов и исследований (Санкт-Петербург, 1907). The collection contains the main documents of that time. Recent publication of the documents and their analysis, see Олег Купчинський, *Акти та документи Галицько-Волинського князівства XIII—першої половини XIV століття: Дослідження: Тексти* (Львів: Наукове товариство імені Шевченка, 2004), 167–94.

between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania ended with compromise and a division of the spheres of influence in the late 1340s. It opened a peculiar window of opportunity for the younger generations of the Gediminids, the ruling dynasty in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania since the early fourteenth century, within the contested border regions of the former Ponyzzya.

This excursion into the political history of Ponyzzya is significant, because, after 1340, the Kingdom of Rus' was a subject for which the Polish and then Hungarian Kingdoms and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania competed. It allows us to trace how the new region, which would be named Podillya, emerged out of the new political realities. The eastern and southeastern borders of political influence of these states corresponded to the western and northern borders of the future Podillya. The weakening of the Golden Horde's rulers and their inability to control the western areas enabled the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to gradually expand its influence and subjugate the northern part of the Kingdom of Rus', and subsequently to launch an even more ambitious campaign to take power and displace the Tatars from the majority of the forest/steppe right-bank areas of the Dnieper River.

Similar processes were intrinsic to another region situated between the Dniester and Prut Rivers in the sphere of influence of the Golden Horde. Founded in the middle of the fourteenth century on the right bank of the Dniester River, the Moldavian Principality was under the protection of the Hungarian Kingdom and limited the expansion of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in that region of Europe. The inability of Casimir III the Great, the Polish king, to expand his influence eastwards limited his possessions to Lviv and Halych. Further east, the Gediminids began to fight to conquer Tatar possessions. This process initiated the formation of Podillya Principality.

Further knowledge about the early history of Podillya depends on perceptions of the information recorded in the chronicles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The main caveat concerning the use of this information is that the earliest texts, such as *A Tale on Podillya*, originated in the period from the 1430s to 1450s; therefore, they are at least eighty to a hundred years removed from the early history of Podillya.¹⁹ Such an early narrative distinction in the sources of a historically young region of the territory of modern Ukraine obliges a researcher to examine this contested territory thoroughly.

What led the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, or the ruling dynasty of the Gediminids, to pay attention to areas situated so far away from the principality centre? The distance from Trakai to Vinnytsya is approximately 850 kilometres. Moreover, the way was complicated by the swamp basin of the Prypiat River, which makes the governance of this territory quite challenging. Ever since the nineteenth century historians have tried to answer the question of how the Grand Duchy of Lithuania exerted control, to some extent in a peaceful manner, over the areas of the Rus' principalities within modern Ukraine. Concerning Volhynia, the marriage of Liubartas, the son of Gediminas, to the daughter of the last ruler of the Kingdom of Rus', Bolesław-Jerzy II, can serve as an argument. This suggestion, based on the dynastic right to inheritance, would make his authority over Volhynia legitimate. Unfortunately, recent studies undermine such a scenario, given the

19 Сергей Полехов, "Летописная "Повесть о Подолье" [ч. 2]," *Древняя Русь: Вопросы медиевистики* 56, no. 2 (2014), 54.

young age of Liubartas and the childlessness of Bolesław-Jerzy II.²⁰ In this context, the attention paid by other members of the Gediminids, the sons of Koriatis, to the territory, which had never been a principality, had no city network, and, moreover, was a part of the Golden Horde, is still unclear. Why did they seek their fortune in a place that had never been integrated into any principality throughout the eleventh to thirteenth centuries?

An answer to this question is unlikely to be found in the chronicles because of their late provenance and the clearly ideological purpose of their writing, which corresponded to the realities of those years, the 1430s to 1450s, when the Grand Duchy of Lithuania lost western Podillya entirely but strove to regain it. Lithuania's rapid expansion in the fourteenth century was supposedly linked to the factors similar to those that took place after the death of the Kyivan princes, Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav the Wise, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. One of the reasons leading to the crisis in Rus' was the large number of members of the Rurikid dynasty, the ruling family. In the late eleventh century they began to demand their own *udels*, which soon became *votchinas*, the centres of principalities. The described processes built on the perception of the Rurikids' possessions as a joint property demanding an *udel* for each member. A similar situation existed in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where the descendants of Gediminas²¹ treated Lithuania as a joint property as well; therefore, they required satisfaction of their ambitions. The limited number of *udels* inside their homeland pushed the younger Gediminids beyond the boundaries of their state and into new territories. The option of acquiring new lands was available only in the southeast.

Finally, let us consider the name of the new region, Podillya. The first mentions appear in the written sources in the early 1370s. Circulating versions of the name are rather repetitive: Podillya (*Podolien* 1375,²² *Podolie* 1377),²³ Podillya land (*в Подольской землі* 1375,²⁴ *terra Podolie* 1395),²⁵ Podillya Principality (*ducatum Podolie* 1377,²⁶ *ducatus Podolie* 1383–1384).²⁷ The name appeared after the establishment of the Koriatovyches' power over this land. It raises the question of the name's connection with a former name, Poniżyska or Podillya. The latter was probably given by the new rulers, who saw and conquered "the land of valleys" without borders.

²⁰ Jan Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia Giedyminowiczów* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Historyczne, 1999), 236–37.

²¹ Gediminas had eight sons, four of whom had sons themselves: Narimantas, four; Algirdas, thirteen; Kariotias, seven; and Kestutis, five; see Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia*, 304–11, 316–19.

²² *KDMK*, vol. 1, № 47, 57.

²³ Oskar Halecki, "Przyczynki genealogiczne do dziejów układu krewskiego," *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny* 14, no. 7/8 (1935), 102.

²⁴ Розов, *Українські грамоти*, № 10, 20.

²⁵ *CV*, № CXV, 38; *ZDM*, vol. 6, № 1843, 466–68.

²⁶ Halecki, "Przyczynki genealogiczne," 102.

²⁷ Władysław Abraham, "Założenie biskupstwa łacińskiego w Kamieńcu Podolskim," in *Księga pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu 250-tej rocznicy Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego przez króla Jana Kazimierza*, vol. 1 (Lwów: Uniwersytet Lwowski, 1912), 12.

Chapter 2

TERRITORY WITHOUT BORDERS: IS IT POSSIBLE?

TERRITORY WITHOUT BORDERS is a widely used way of imagining the lands located in the steppe and forest/steppe climate zones. The metaphor I use does not aim to confuse readers about the territorial boundaries of historical Podillya; to my mind, it is, rather, a convenient method to describe the region. Such conditionality, along with the geographical features of that part of Europe, caused the emergence of contested territories that were the subject of dispute between the settled population and nomads. It also formed the great frontier between the farmers inhabiting the forest/steppe area and the nomads of the steppe, between the military units defending the frontier and the Tatar units penetrating it. The great frontier at the contested territories existed until the 1790s (until the Treaty of Jassy, signed in 1791 between the Russian and the Ottoman Empires), when these lands were ceded to the Russian Empire. It was a very specific edge of Europe in the east. In this context, Podillya did not have its own border, because its border—the frontier—belonged to the whole European continent.

When early modern cartographers knew nothing about a territory, they used to mark it with the phrase *Hic sunt leones*, implying that it consisted of unknown and apparently dangerous lands inhabited by lions. One might use similar words to describe the territory that Podillya bordered on the east and the southeast. Over the centuries this territory has been called “Tataria” or, even more apocalyptically, “Tartaria.” Therefore, “Podolia,” notwithstanding the variations in its name, became the last European province in the east of Europe. It is noteworthy that the end of Podillya on the old maps overlapped with the end of cities: further east no traces of urban life were marked.¹

The region with a new name began to form at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in response to the processes taking place in the Ulus of Jochi, the western part of the Genghisid Empire. The disintegration of the empire saw Mengü-Timur Khan (1266–1280), the ruler of the Ulus, refuse to send a tribute to Karakorum, the capital of the empire, and mint his own coin.² The remote location of his territory from the centre of the Mongol Empire and the completely different challenges posed by its western neighbours strengthened the centrifugal tendencies of his policy.

The western border of Mongol expansion was likely to coincide with the border of spacious pastures between the Southern Bug and Dnieper Rivers. A further eastward advance was inefficient given the nomadic lifestyle and lack of actual necessity. The Galician–Volhynian Principality under the reign of Daniel of Galicia to some extent

¹ For a list of eighty-eight maps with images of Podillya, see in Ярослав Дашкевич, “Східне Поділля на картах XVI ст.,” in Дашкевич, *Майстерня історика*, 561–65.

² Черкас, *Західні володіння*, 238.

acknowledged the khan's supremacy. This can be seen in Daniel's policy of avoiding any military confrontations with the Mongols after 1240/41 and until his death in 1263.³

A marker that indicates the farthest expansion of nomads to the west is the information from the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle about the principalities and cities in the eastern part of the Galician-Volhynian Principality. Settlements with defensive structures are known from archaeological excavations. The easternmost big cities that are considered to be the main cities of the principalities were Halych and Terebovlya. These cities would play an essential role in the later history of Podillya, when Terebovlya, right up to the end of the fifteenth century, would be designated as a city belonging to Podolian land.⁴

Known from the chronicles' records, the cities in the west of Daniel of Galicia's possessions were set tightly along the two rivers—that is, the middle Dniester River and the upper Southern Bug River. Cities along the Dniester, namely Dzvenyhorod, Bakota, Kalius, and Ushytsya (later Old Ushytsya), constituted ancient Ponyzzya; there were two cities, Medzhybizh and Bozhsky, along the Southern Bug, described by historians as “Bolokhiv cities.”⁵ Mentioned in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle only four times, Ponyzzya consisted of the above-mentioned cities lying only within the middle Dniester. The capital of this region is thought to have been Bakota, given the attention paid to it by a chronicler. From the so-called “Bolokhiv land,” the region invented by historians in the nineteenth century,⁶ only cities and settlements located along the upper Southern Bug were integrated into historical Podillya in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Forests became another significant marker in the formation of the northern border of future Podillya. The most famous forest, called Chorny lis (Black Forest), appeared on a well-known map of Bernard Wapowski's printed in 1526. The forest gave the name to one of the largest routes in the region, Chorny shlyakh (Black route).⁷ Forests and the Ros' River basin became that border, which separated the Principality of Kyiv, or Kyivan land, from the forest/steppe zone.

The southeastern border of the region ran along the left bank of the Dniester River. The stable frontier separated the Slavic population from the territory that became the Principality of Moldavia in the middle of the fourteenth century. All the people inhabiting

3 Dariusz Dąbrowski, *Król Rusi Daniel: Biografia polityczna (ok. 1201–1264)* (Kraków: Avalon, 2012), 217–67, 406–28.

4 In 1485 Terebovlya, along with its county, was marked by the royal chancery as part of Podillya (Kamyanets) land: *In Trebowla t[er]ra[e] Camenecen[sis] ...* : Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Metryka Koronna, sygn. 13, k. 30. Then either Podillya or Kamyanets lands is recorded: “*Terra Podolye ali[as] Camenecen[sis] ...*”

5 Куза, *Древнерусские городища*, map № 1, catalogue, 198–208; Олександр Баран, “Розвиток мережі міських осередків Галицько-Волинської держави в XIII—першій половні XIV століття,” *Княжа доба: історія і культура* 9 (2015), 261–65.

6 Володимир Ричка and Олексій Толочко, “Князи Болоховьский,” *Ruthenica* 13 (2016), 83–107.

7 Karol Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej od XV do XVIII wieku: Zarys analityczno-syntetyczny* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1963), fig. 7.

the frontier tried to end the rule of the Tatars.⁸ The long-term and complicated relationship between Podillya and the Principality of Moldavia began, not unexpectedly, with a successful attempt by Yuri Koriatovych (George Koriatovych), one of the Podillya's rulers, to take the principality's throne in 1374.⁹ Although it was the starting point for intense contacts between the two banks of the Dniester River, mutual claims and bothersome attacks on settlements continued to plague this border to the very end of the eighteenth century.

Having formed as a region along the left bank of the middle Dniester River and along the upper and middle Southern Bug, the Podolian territory was a part of the Black Sea steppes and supposed to "touch" the Black Sea coast. But was that the case in the middle of the fourteenth century? The answer is rather positive, if one focuses on the region as the part of the Jochid Ulus under the rule of the Tatars. A significant vector of communication inside the area was provided by the routes that connected the northern areas to the Black Sea coast, and, first of all, to the Genoese and Venetian settlements and trading posts stretched, in geographical order, from east to west, from the Danube Delta to the Don Delta.¹⁰

Reconstruction of centres and ways of communication in Podillya in the second half of the fourteenth century is not possible without the Golden Horde's point of view. However, only a few relevant sources are available for scholars studying the Golden Horde of this period. In a concentrated form, such reconstructions might be done best by archaeological excavations discovering cities or settlement networks between the Dniester and Dnieper Rivers.

The method of addressing the historical geography of the Golden Horde from west to east introduced by Vadim Yegorov presents a communication network that emerged between the main rivers. To Yegorov, there are seven places that are defined by him as "gorodishche" ("big settlements") between the Dniester and Dnieper Rivers: Mayaky, Velyka Mechetnya, Bezimenne, Solone, Argamakly-Saray, Ak-Mechet, and Balykley.¹¹ Most of them have not been thoroughly studied by archaeologists so

8 Dennis Deletant, "Moldavia between Hungary and Poland, 1347–1412," *Slavonic and East European Review* 64, no. 2 (1986), 189–91; Ilona Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna wobec Polski, Węgier i Turcji w XIV i XV wieku* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu imienia Adama Mickiewicza, 1996), 20–28.

9 On the residence of George Koriatovych in Moldavia and debates about it, see Deletant, "Moldavia between," 197–201; and Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna*, 42–50.

10 Danuta Quirini-Popławska, *Włoski handel czarnomorskimi niewolnikami w późnym średniowieczu* (Kraków: Universitas, 2002), 144–96, 197–222; Mikhail Kizilov, "The Black Sea and the Slave Trade: The Role of Crimean Maritime Towns in the Trade in Slaves and Captives in the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," *International Journal of Maritime History* 17, no. 1 (2005), 211–35; Rafał Hryszko, *Januensis, ergo mercator? Działalność gospodarcza Genuńczyków w ziemi lwowskiej na tle kontaktów Polski z czarnomorskimi koloniami Genui w XV wieku* (Kraków: Historia Iagellonica, 2012), 21–61.

11 Вадим Егоров, *Историческая география Золотой Орды в XIII–XIV вв.*, 3rd ed. (Москва: Красанд, 2010), 82–83.

far. In the last decade excavations in Torgovytsya¹² have revealed large numbers of Turkic artefacts, proving the existence of settlements in the region.¹³ The existence of further similar cities or fortified settlements in these areas is highly likely despite the paucity of discoveries. Even so, this enumeration is sufficient evidence for an alternative take on the territory, where nomads founded or maintained settlements in order to have sustainable routes within the steppe and forest/steppe zones controlled by them (see Map 1).

The eastern border of Podillya is the biggest mystery for researchers, because it was not marked in the fourteenth century. There are two cities serving as benchmarks on the “far east,” which were situated far away from the perspective of the capital cities of Smotrych and Kamyanets. They are Cherkasy, on the Dnieper River; and Zvenyhorod (now Zvenyhorodka, Cherkasy oblast), located more than 100 kilometres to the west. Why is the distance from Kamyanets, a later capital, so important? Designating Cherkasy and Zvenyhorod as Podolian cities would be a strong argument to include them in historical Podillya—or, rather, the Principality of Podillya—under the Koriatovyches’ reign. But the distance from Smotrych to Kamyanets is too great for the realities of that time. For instance, the distance from Kamyanets to Zvenyhorod is more than 400 kilometres, from Kamyanets to Cherkasy more than 500 kilometres. Taking into account the speed of travel, it would take more than ten days to get from Kamyanets to both cities, assuming one’s speed was 40 to 50 kilometres per day depending on the season and natural barriers. Such distances would make governance over the region overly complicated. Thus, the temptation to delineate the border along the Dnieper River remains, unfortunately, a temptation only. If one looks at the map of cities designated as Polish (and, in fact, Podolian) in the source *А се имена градом вѣм рускым далним и ближним* (“The List”), most of the identified settlements, namely Cherkasy, Zvenyhorod, Bratslav, Sokilets, and Vinnytsya, are located along an imaginary line that might have been a trading route¹⁴ (see more on the source in [Chapter 3](#)). It would be an overstatement to consider all the territory on the right bank of the Dnieper River from Cherkasy to the Black Sea as Podillya, since such a vast region would hardly have been a viable entity at the time.

Mentions of the easternmost cities with castles are very scarce. Besides “The List,” Zvenyhorod is mentioned only in two documents, namely a document for Hrynko written in 1391¹⁵ and a document for Spytek of Melsztyn written in 1395.¹⁶ However, Cherkasy is mentioned only in the latter document. The document of Fedir Koriatovych dated 1395 is

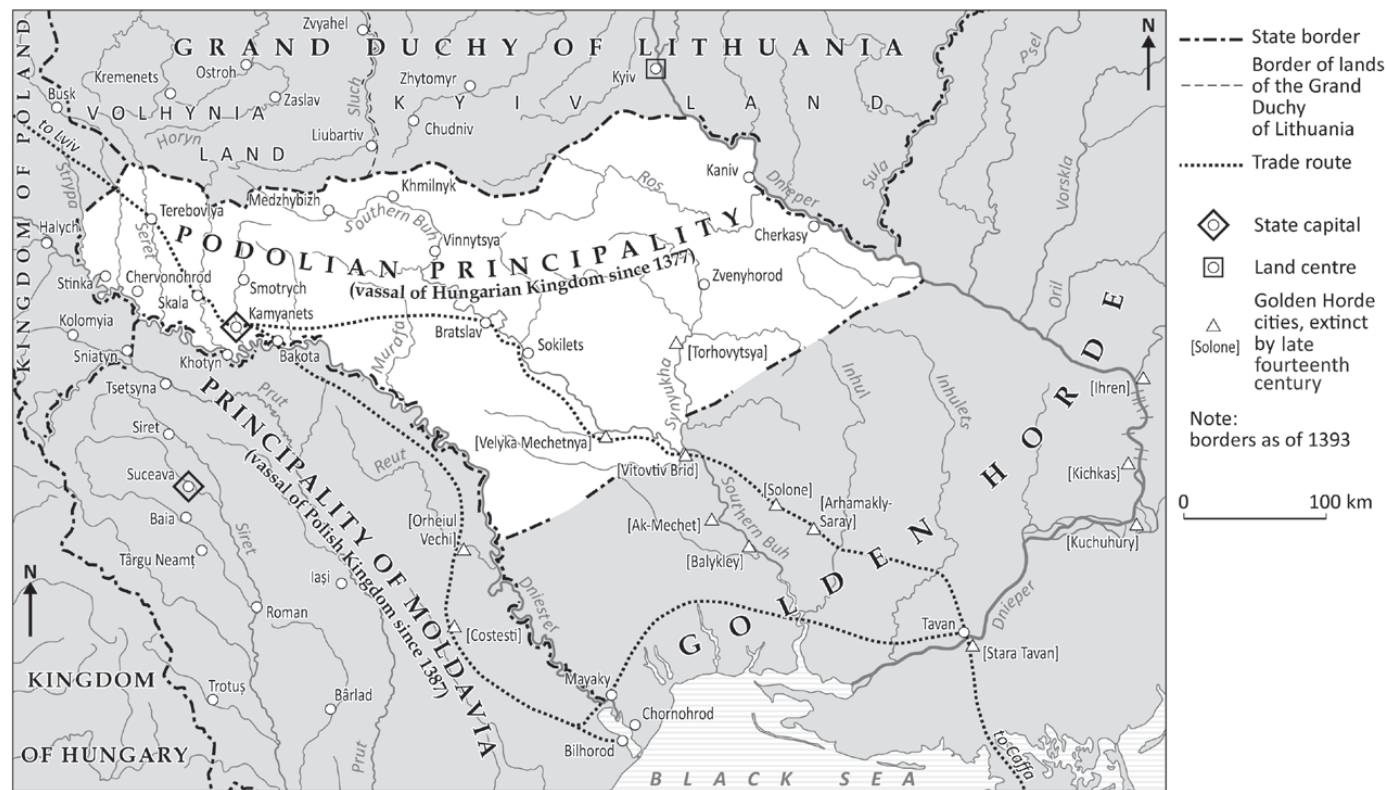
12 The modern village of Torgovytsya is located in Novoarkhangelsk rayon, Kropyvnytsky district, on the bank of the Synyukha River.

13 Нінель Бокій and Ірина Козир, “Комплекс золотоординського часу біля с. Торговиця на Кіровоградщині (попередня публікація),” in *Синьоводська проблема у новітніх дослідженнях*, ed. Фелікс Шабульдо (Київ, 2005), 41–83.

14 Юрій Лоза, *Історичний атлас України* (Київ: Мапа, 2015), 106–7.

15 Груша, “Невядомая грамота Фёдора Карыятовича,” 132.

16 *ZDM*, vol. 6. № 1843, 467.



Map 1 The Podolian Principality in the second half of the fourteenth century. Used with permission of Dmytro Vortman.

further evidence that the Koriatovyches ruled over the territory, since Bedrych, voivode of Cherkasy (*Черкаский воевода*)¹⁷ and therefore the king's representative, was listed among the witnesses. He was a Silesian noble who had come to the Ruthenian lands during the reign of Vladislaus II of Opole in the 1370s. Podolian Cherkasy was mentioned in the sources for the last time in 1436/37, when the Polish king made attempts to control the ancient centres along a major route running from Cherkasy westwards.¹⁸ There is a minimal amount of information concerning the easternmost cities marked as Podolian cities at that time. Therefore, the only suggestion that explains the Podolian history of these cities is that there was a trading route from Cherkasy and Zvenyhorod running along the Dnieper River to the west.

Podillya is called a territory without borders because of its blurred and undefined eastern and southeastern borders. The beginning of the steppe climate zone is, provisionally, the region's borderline, corresponding to settlements discovered between the Dniester and Southern Bug Rivers. An earlier unknown document by Fedir Koriatovych, prince of Podillya, dated to 1392 and discovered in 2014, by which he gave a large mansion in the eastern part of the region to Pashko Vasnovych, can serve as evidence for a direct link between the border of a climatic zone and the existence of settlements. The document is significant due to the inclusion of a number of hydronyms, which serve as reliable markers to identify settlements and territories under the Koriatovyches' rule. The hydronyms in the document are located in the Southern Bug river basin (called Bog at that time), namely the Silnytsya River, a right tributary of the Southern Bug River, the Bershad River (now the Berladynka River), a left tributary of the Dohna River, and the Rohozna River (now the Rohozka River), a left tributary of the Savranka River. It should be noted that these hydronyms, except for the Bug/Bog River, are mentioned for the first and only time in the sources of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁹ These markers are the only borders known today that limited the expansion of the Koriatovyches' authority at the end of the fourteenth century.

Marking the Black Sea coast as the region's border is simply out of the question. Such a mapping would raise the question of where to place the Tatars—or, to be more specific, nomads—for whom the Black Sea steppe was the main living space and the pasture for their livestock after the expulsion of the Cumans in the second half of the thirteenth century.

17 Юрій Мікульскі, "Новая грамота Фёдора Кориатовича 1392 г.," in *Беларуская даўнына*, ed. Юрій Мікульскі, vol. 1 (Мінск, 2014), 150.

18 Janusz Kurtyka, "Wierność i zdrada na pograniczu: walki o Bracław w latach 1430–1437," in *Historia vero testis temporum: Księga jubileuszowa poświęcona Profesorowi Krzysztofowi Baczkowskiemu w 70 rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Janusz Smółcha, Anna Waško, Tomasz Graff, and Paweł F. Nowakowski (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2008), 711.

19 Віталій Михайловський, "На маргінесі документа подільського князя Федора Коріатовича від 1392 р.," *Ruthenica* 13 (2016), 188–97.

“The territory without borders” metaphor introduced at the beginning of this chapter precisely describes the geography of Podillya in the second half of the fourteenth century, when the previous rulers, the Tatars, were still living there²⁰ and collecting tribute, while the new rulers, the Gediminids, did not have enough resources to take this vast territory—an important element in the so-called “eastern trade”—fully under their control. This metaphor corresponds to an understanding of the impossibility of defining a border between settled people and nomads and reflects the idea that this frontier was often under the control of several rulers. The contested frontier began to appear gradually in the various sources, revealing its structure, main routes, and administrative centres, and the castles that would become the footholds enabling the Koriatovyches, the new rulers, to establish their power in the second half of the fourteenth century.

20 To prove it, the document of Louis I of Hungary dated by 1368 to merchants from Braşov mentions Tatar ruler Dmytro (*Domini Demetry, Princeps Tartarorum*) and his lands (*in terra ipsius Domini Demetry*): *Documente privitóre la Istoria Românilor*, ed. Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, vol. 1, pt. 2: 1346–1459 (Bucureşti, 1890), 144. Scholars try to identify him with one of the Tatar rulers, Dmytro, who was defeated in the Battle of Blue Waters in 1362: Ярослав Дашкевич, “Степові держави на Поділлі та в Західному Причорномор’ї як проблема історії України XIV ст.,” *Матеріали і дослідження з археології Прикарпаття і Волині* 10 (2006), 117.

Chapter 3

THE MAIN CENTRES OF PODILLYA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

WHILE SPREADING THEIR power over the vast territory from the Dnieper River in the east to the edge of the forest/steppe zone in the southeast and south, the new rulers—Lithuanian princes—had to establish or organize local centres. According to the tradition of the time, the significant sites located along the commuting lines and pathways either along or in between the main rivers in the region, the Dniester and Southern Bug Rivers (called Bog at that time), became such centres. While the left bank of the Dniester River—which is significant for our research—was densely populated thanks to the natural specifics of its valley, there is very little evidence related to the population of the valley of the Southern Bug because of the lack of written sources.

Another pathway in the region was a route from Kyiv to the south that ran perpendicular to the main roads of the region. From the days of Kyivan Rus' it had existed to meet the need for safe travel to the south avoiding the Dnieper rapids and dangerous steppe zones. Since the fifteenth century the pathway has been known in much detail, including information about the areas located along its way. In 1419, travelling to the Holy Land, the monk Zosima left Kyiv and went to the Bog River (Southern Bug) in the Podillya land (*въ Одолской земли*), and rested in the city of Bratslav (*градъ Брянславль*). From Bratslav the pilgrims went to Miterevi Kysheni (*подъ Митеревыми Кышинами*) on the Dniester River (*Нѣстрѣ*), and then crossed the river and went to Wallachia (the Principality of Moldavia).¹

The next mention of the route—or, rather, the controlled territory corresponding to the route's direction from Kyiv to the south—comes up in the privilege of Simeon Olekovich, the prince of Kyiv, dated to 1459, granting Yeremiya Shashka the possessions limited by the rivers flowing into the Dniester River. A thorough examination of the toponyms and hydronyms recorded in the document delineates the territory from the modern city of Tomashpil to Suha Kamyanytsya (now, most likely, the city of Kamyanka on the Dniester River, Republic of Moldova).² All the hydronyms, serving as reliable markers, belong to the Dniester River basin, namely the Rusava River, the Kamenytsya River (now the Kamyanka River), and the Kusnytsya and Kusnychka Rivers (both are tributaries of either the Markivka River or the Shumylivka River).³

Whereas information on the routes running from north to south is rare to find, the routes from the southeast to the northwest and west are better known in historiography.

1 "Хождение инока Зосимы 1419–1422 гг.," *Православный Палестинский сборник* 8, 3 (24) (1889), 2.

2 Розов, *Українські грамоти*, № 93, 171.

3 *Словник гідронімів України*, ed. Ірина Железняк, Алла Корепанова, Лариса Масенко, Анатолій Непокупний, Василь Німчук, Євген Отін, Олексій Стрижак, and Кирило Цілуйко (Київ: Наукова думка, 1979), 305.

Although there are no reliable sources from the fourteenth century, the so-called “Tatar routes,” known from the second half of the fifteenth century, are well documented. They served as the main pathways, but were they used for trade? It is likely that they were used as trading routes, since it is difficult to find better roads in a steppe than those that are already in existence and where a traveller is able to find at least some water. There were no routes to move more or less quickly in the forest/steppe area of Podillya, particularly within a 50-kilometre stretch of the Dniester River’s left “Podolian bank,” with its deep dales. Podillya’s routes competed with *via valachica*, known as the Moldavian route, which ran across the Principality of Moldavia and ended in Bilhorod, an important seaport at the inlet of the Dniester.⁴ The Principality of Moldavia might have emerged around the *via valachica*, and the Principality of Podillya was probably formed around two longer routes.

A simple look at the map of Podillya’s settlements starting from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shows that there were peculiar corridors between them that scholars unanimously tie to the largest routes of the region, the Black route, and the Kuchmanski route.⁵ The name of the Black route derives probably from the Black Forest, located to the west of the city of Uman. The route led from Bilhorod to the north, bent westwards near the Black Forest, followed the left bank of the Southern Bug, and reached the city of Khmilnyk. The first written mention of the *via nigra* route was recorded around Khmilnyk at the end of the fifteenth century.⁶ The Kuchmanski route ran south of the Black route, followed the right bank of the Southern Bug towards the city of Rov (from 1537 the city of Bar), past Zinkiv, Sutkivtsi, and Yarmolyntsi towards the Southern Volhynia, where it met with the Black route. The Kuchmanski route within the historical Podillya is considered to be part of the *via tartarica*. The latter has been known since the fourteenth century, the route running from Lviv through Kamyanets to Caffa in Crimea, with a branch towards Tana at the estuary of the Don.⁷ Mentioned for the first time in 1339, the *via tartarica* had two branches,⁸ which may have corresponded in the “Podolian” segments to the later Black route and Kuchmanski route.

Presentation of the commuting and contact lines of historical Podillya in the fourteenth century shows that research into the historical geography of that time is

4 Alexander Oguy, “Lwowski szlak handlowy i intensyfikacja obiegu monetarnego na północnej Bukowinie w XIV–XVI w.,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 101, no. 4 (2010), 587.

5 *Atlas historyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej: Epoka przełomu z wieku XVI-go na XVII-sty, dział II-gi: Ziemi Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Aleksander Jabłonowski (Warszawa: 1899–1904), 7, 10; *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681) Defter-i Mufassal-i Eyalet-i Kamaniçe*, pt. 1: *Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Studies in Ottoman Documents Pertaining to Ukraine and the Black Sea Countries, 3), ed. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk (Cambridge, MA: Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, 2004), maps 2–6.

6 *Listy i akta Piotra Myszkowskiego generalnego starosty ziem ruskich króla Jana Olbrachta*, ed. Anatol Lewicki (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1898), № 58, 60.

7 Łucja Charewiczowa, *Handel Średniowiecznego Lwowa* (Lwów: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1925), 37.

8 Quirini-Popławska, *Włoski handel*, 211.

complicated. The main sources that might be used by scholars consist of a very few land-related documents and several specific sources, namely “*А се имена градом всѣм рускым далним и ближним*” (“The List”) and Tatar *yarliqs* documenting the assignation of lands in the modern-day Ukraine to the rulers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

“The List” is one of the most informative sources on the historical geography of the region. A Russian researcher, Valentin Yanin, has come to the conclusion that it was probably written between 1375 and 1381, because the document includes the names of several cities that, according to other reliable sources, served as markers for dating it to that period.⁹ This is the earliest dating of the source so far. Having applied a similar methodology, Vladimir Kuchkin, another Russian researcher, believes that “The List” was created in the period between the early 1430s and 1451, arguing that some cities from the document have been known only from the fifteenth century.¹⁰ The observations of Edvard Zaikovski are significant for understanding the territorial designations of the cities, as he makes an informed assumption that the protograph of this document was created in the first half of the fourteenth century, based on its inclusion of the cities of Halych, Sambir, and others in the Volhynian domain, and its exclusion of Cherkasy and Zvenyhorod from the Kyivan domain. The fact that Cherkasy was ascribed to the domain of Polish cities, in Zaikovski’s opinion, proves that influence over this territory was divided between the rulers of Kyiv and the Horde’s representatives in the second half of the 1320s.¹¹

The dating of the “The List” thus varies by up to seventy years. Avoiding the discussion on the date of its transcription, I would emphasize the fact that the protograph has yet to be found. There are twenty-four transcriptions available to scholars dated to between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. “The List” seems to have a lot of layers dating back to different decades of the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth, when the possession of individual cities or groups of cities by certain local or state centres changed quite quickly. The lack of other sources, as in the case of eastern Podillya, allows us to interpret the chronology of the document quite broadly.

For the history of Podillya “The List” is crucial, as it includes a chapter titled “These Polish [Cities]” (“*А се [городов] Польскии*”), which most likely provides a record of the cities that belonged to the Polish Kingdom. These cities are located all over the historical Podillya of the second half of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the fifteenth century. The cities included in the chapter are the following: *Каменець* (Kamyanets-Podilsky, Khmelnytskyi oblast), *Иловечь* (perhaps Yazlovets, Ternopil oblast), *Браславль*

⁹ Валентин Янин, “К вопросу о дате составления обзора ‘А се имена градом всѣм рускым, далним и ближним,’” in *Древнейшие государства Восточное Европы: Материалы и исследования 1992–1993 годы* (Москва: Наука, 1995), 125–34.

¹⁰ Владимир Кучкин, “Датировка списка ‘А се имена градом всѣм рускым далним и ближним,’” *Древняя Русь: Вопросы медиевистики* 61, no. 3 (2015), 71.

¹¹ Едвард Зайкоўскі, “Список городов русских дальних и ближних: датировка пратографа,” *Княжа доба: історія і культура*, vol. 9: *Король Данило Романович 1264–2014* (Львів: 2015), 287–88.

(Bratslav, Vinnytsya oblast), *Сокоlech* (the village of Sokilets, Vinnytsya oblast), *Звенигород* (Zvenyhorodka, Cherkasy oblast), *Черкаси* (Cherkasy), *Черлен* (not identified), *Новый городок* (not identified), *Веничя* (the city of Vinnytsya), *Скала* (Skala-Podilska, Ternopil oblast), and *Бакота* (a city flooded by the Dniester reservoir).¹²

So far, no one has identified two of the eleven cities designated as “Polish,” namely Novy Gorodok and Cherlen.¹³ It is noteworthy that the Podolian chapter of the list does not include Smotrych, which was designated in the chronicles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as the capital of Podillya before it was moved to Kamyanets, and Chervonohrod, known from the end of the fourteenth century. If the document had been written after 1430, as Kuchkin suggests, it would have included the city of Letychiv, one of the main centres of historical Podillya in the upper Southern Bug River. Besides, Terebovlya, Halych, and Sambir, where “Saint Onufrius lies,” would not have been marked as Volhynian cities.¹⁴

It seems to me that this part of “The List” includes the cities of historical Podillya as of the mid-1370s, except for Smotrych, since it addresses the historical Podillya, which had not yet passed into the control of the Kingdom of Hungary (which happened only in 1378). This assumption is quite relative and cannot serve as a reliable marker for dating the document, because a mention of Cherkasy located as far as the Dnieper River would suggest reference to the fourteenth century only. The 1392 privilege by Fedir Koriatovych, prince of Podillya, lists the voivodes of Cherkasy and Skala as witnesses, among others.¹⁵ It is the only document so far that represents officers from the extreme points of historical Podillya in the fourteenth century. Moreover, the Letychiv mentioned above appeared indirectly as “Letychiv district” (*in districtu Leticzowiensi*)¹⁶ in the sources dated 1404, whereas not as a city with a castle until 1431.¹⁷ This all shows how limited and inadequate the scope of the sources for studying the late medieval history of Podillya is.

The other sources, khan’s *yarliqs* that originated from the opposite side, namely the Horde’s side, demonstrate a similar way for understanding—or, rather, imagining—the modern Ukrainian territory. *Yarliqs* were awarded to rulers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to give them the right to govern over the lands that had been conquered by the Tatars since the 1240s. Felix Shabuldo has proposed the existence of a hypothetical *yarliq*

12 Михаил Тихомиров, “Список русских городов дальних и ближних,” in Михаил Тихомиров, *Русское летописание* (Москва: Наука, 1979), 94.

13 See map of this document: Лоза, *Історичний атлас України*, 106–7.

14 Тихомиров, “Список русских городов дальних и ближних,” 95.

15 Мікульські, “Новая грамота князя Фёдора Кориатовича,” 147–50. See an overview of the document in Михайловський, “На маргінесі документа подільського князя Федора Кориатовича,” 188–97.

16 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, vol. 4: 1386–1450 (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1905), № 1079, 89.

17 Богдан Бучинський, “Кілька причинків до часів вел. кн. Свитригайла (1430–1433),” *Записки наукового товариства імені Шевченка* 76, no. 2 (1907), 132.

from the beginning of the 1360s, the so-called “Mamai’s *yarliq*.”¹⁸ If the *yarliq* existed, it would explain the fast and easy conquest (the silence of the sources on this issue should be noted again) of the spacious forest/steppe and steppe zone between the Dnieper and the Dniester by the Gediminids in the 1360s and 1370s. Thus, the hypothesis corresponds to the version of history described in the chronicles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

What can *yarliqs* tell us about the territory of Podillya? Let us consider those that have been preserved in full. For example, Hadji Giray’s *yarliq*, issued in 1461, defines Podillya’s land as follows: “*Podolia along with waters, lands, and all their profits; Kamjanec’ along with waters, lands, and all their profits; Braclav along with lands, water, and all their profits...*”¹⁹ The next *yarliq*, issued by Mengli Giray in 1472, is even more similar to “The List,” because it says that lands and cities, including Kyiv, Podillya, Kamyanets, Bratslav (*Podole, Kamyenec, Braczlav*), and probably Sokilets near Bratslav (*Sokal*), are being granted in the same way as has “*been done previously by our forefather [grandfather], Khan Tokhtamis [Tokhtamys] ...*”²⁰ The last example to be given is the *yarliq* of Mengli Giray, dated 1507. Although it is similar to the 1461 *yarliq*, it calls the lands *tümen*, following Tatar tradition, and lists the tumens of Podillya, Kamyanets, Bratslav, Sokilets, and Zvenyhorod, as well as the city of Cherkasy.²¹

Tatar sources demonstrate that an archaic view on the territory of historical Podillya prevailed in the sixteenth century. In diplomatic relations between the Crimean Khanate and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the region was marked according to the realities of the second half of the fourteenth century, but certainly not of the next century. It is noteworthy that, apart from main centres, namely Kamyanets, Bratslav, Sokilets, Zvenyhorod, and Cherkasy, the khan’s *yarliqs* utilize the term *Podillya tümen* in the first place. Perhaps it was regarded as a homogeneous political entity; consequently, such a perception of the region might have emerged in the first half or the middle of the fourteenth century.

In my opinion, the representation of Podillya in “The List” entirely correlates with the corresponding Podolian parts of the Khan’s *yarliqs*, and provides therefore an opportunity to reconstruct this territory as consisting of several regions—*tumens*, in Tatar tradition—formed around their centres and respective main cities. The specific concentration of such centres in the eastern part of Podillya—Bratslav, Sokilets, Zvenyhorod, and Cherkasy—probably reflects favourable geographical conditions for nomads there that enabled them to control the routes for trading goods from the east.

Numismatic discoveries along the main routes could serve as markers of trading activities in Podillya in the fourteenth century, which can be illustrated with examples of

18 Фелікс Шабульдо, “Чи існував ярлик Мамає на українській землі? (до постановки проблеми),” in *Синьоводська проблема у новітніх дослідженнях*, 100–22.

19 *The Crimean Khanate and Poland–Lithuania: International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th Century): A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents*, ed. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 529–30.

20 *Ibid.*, 541.

21 *Ibid.*, 556–57: “[T]he *tümen* of Podolia along with all incomes, levis, lands, and waters; the *tümen* of Kamjanec ..., the *tümen* of Braclav ..., the *tümen* of Sokolec ..., Zvynyhorod ..., Cerkasy ...” (561).

hoards discovered recently. The first of them was found in the village of Lesky, located less than 20 kilometres downstream the Dnieper River from Cherkasy. In 2008 a hoard with more than 360 coins was found there; twenty-seven of the coins are dated from 1348 to 1392.²² The second hoard, found near the city of Gnivan (20 kilometres downstream the Southern Bug River of Vinnytsya), consisted of more than 500 coins, including 255 Prague groschens from the reigns of Charles IV and Wenceslaus IV of Bohemia, 218 Jochid and Genoese/Tatar coins, twenty-four Podillya half-groschens, seventeen Ruthenian groschens, and two Lviv half-groschens.²³ The discovery of the hoards of coins near the main known centres shows the intensity of trade in Podillya in the fourteenth century and early fifteenth, and confirms the existence of a route from Cherkasy on the Dnieper to Vinnytsya on the Southern Bug, the place where the route probably crossed other pathways.

The overview of routes and cities of historical Podillya in the second half of the fourteenth century raises the question of the region's historical capital. Until recently the traditional historiographical point of view was that Smotrych was the confirmed first capital, originating from a literal reading of the chronicles depicting the Koriatovych brothers, who received Podillya from their uncle, Algirdas, after defeating Tatar rulers in the Battle of Blue Waters in 1362.²⁴ These events have been described in *A Tale on Podillya*, which emerged in the 1430s as a result of the struggle for Podillya between the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. According to a Russian researcher, Sergey Polekhov, the Slutsk and Suprasl copies of the First Redaction of the Lithuanian Chronicle are the most similar to the protograph.²⁵

Having come to Podillya, the Koriatovyches, according to *A Tale on Podillya*, found neither cities nor castles. They chose a place on the Smotrych River to build their residence, and founded the city of Smotrych: "And at the beginning [they] found a fortress on the Smotrych river."²⁶ "Here [they] founded them a city of Smotrych."²⁷ Then the chronicle mentions the former capital of Podillya—Bakota, a place in mountains where the monks lived: "And in another place there were monks in the mountain, and at that place [they]

22 Юрий Зайончковский and Владимир Шептуха, "Фрагмент комплекса из-под села Леськи Черкасского района Черкасской области," in *Русь, Литва, Орда в памятниках нумизматики и сфрагистики* (Минск: Рифтур Принт, 2015), 40–41.

23 Дмитрий Гулецкий and Юрий Зайончковский, "Гниваньский клад начала 2-й четверти XV века," in *Русь, Литва, Орда в памятниках нумизматики и сфрагистики*, 163. For more information about numismatic discoveries in Podillya, see Олексій Бакалець, *Скарби Поділля XIV—середини XVII ст: Документи та матеріали* (Київ: Видавець Олег Філюк, 2017), 6–25.

24 Since the second half of the twentieth century almost all works pertaining to the history of Podillya have included this interpretation.

25 Сергей Полехов, "Летописная "Повесть о Подолье" [ч. 1]," *Древняя Русь: Вопросы медиевистики* 55, no. 1 (2014), 34; Датування на 1431–1432 рр.: Полехов, "Летописная 'Повесть о Подолье' [ч. 2]," 54.

26 "Супрасльская летопись," in *ПСРЛ*, vol. 35: *Летописи белорусско-литовские*, ed. Владимир Улащик (Москва: Наука, 1980), 66: "И на первое нашли собь твержю на рецъ Смотричи."

27 "Слуцкая летопись," in *ibid.*, 74: "[Т]ут пак собе нарядили город Смотрич."

founded a city of Bakota.” Hunting for deer, they then found an island, deforested it, and founded the city of Kamyanets and all other Podolian cities: “And hunting at the hunting areas they happened to do the following: [they] drove many deers to that island, where now the place of Kamyanets is situated. They cut down the forest and built Kamyanets and after this they built all Podolian cities and settled over all Podolian lands.”²⁸ The chronicles that include the story of Algirdas’s victory followed by the granting of Podillya to the Koriatovyches repeat this narrative.

It would appear that there is nothing unusual in the story discussed, because the location of Kamyanets excludes any other options for choosing the place for a capital. But a small detail, as is often the case, casts doubt on this long-standing and neat theory about the relocation of the capital to Kamyanets.

The city of Smotrych appears in written sources besides the chronicles around 1370. The document of Jan from Brzeg, a provincial from the Polish Dominican Province, mentions the monks in Smotrych (*fratres de Smotricii*).²⁹ One of the first documents, the original copy of which has been known from 1375, is the privilege of Aleksander Koriatovych to a Dominican monastery in Smotrych.³⁰ Remarkably, the donations made for the monastery by George Koriatovych, Aleksander’s elder brother, are also noted in the document. The city of Smotrych is second only to Kamyanets in the frequency of mentions in the sources of the fourteenth century. What else do we know about the city in the middle to second half of the fourteenth century?

Historians have long tried to relate Smotrych to a place listed in a Franciscan tax registry. But these attempts should be considered erroneous. Published in volume 5 of the *Bullarium Franciscanum*, the document is not dated, and in *Vicaria Russiae* most of the Ruthenian cities can be easily identified: Lviv (*Lemburgae*), Gorodok (*de Grodech*), Kolomyia (*de Colomia*), Halych (*Galciff*), and Kamyanets (*Caminix*).³¹ Any attempts to identify *Scotorix* as Smotrych are unconvincing, since Smotrych was written as *Smotricz* in Latin in the second half of the fourteenth century and early in the fifteenth.³² The document, probably written in 1370,³³ mentions the other capital, Kamyanets, for the first time.

28 “Супрасльская летопись,” 66: “[А] в другомъ мѣсте были черниці в горе, и в томъ мѣсте наредили город Бакоту. И ловячи в ловех пригодилося имъ так: угонили много оленей в тот остров, кдѣ нынѣ Каменеское мѣсто лежитъ. И посекиши лѣсъ город муровали Каменьць а ис того вси Подолски города умуровали и всю землю Подолскою осели ...”

29 Janusz Kurtyka, “Repertorium podolskie: Dokumenty do 1340 roku,” in *Podole w czasach jagiellońskich: Studia i materiały*, Janusz Kurtyka, ed. Maciej Wilamowski (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2011), № 8, 324–25.

30 Розов, *Українські грамоти*, № 10, 20.

31 *Bullarium Franciscanum sive Romanorum Pontificum Constitutiones, Epistolae, ac Diplomata Continens Tribus Ordinibus Minorum, Clarissarum, et Poenitentium*, vol. 5: *Benedicti XI, Clementis V, Ioannis XXII Monumenta*, ed. Konrad Eubel (Romae, 1898), 602.

32 *CV*, № 115, 39 (in 1395); Бучинський, “Кілька причинків,” 132 (in 1432).

33 On arguments concerning the dating of the Ruthenian part of the list and overview of theories, see Dariusz Karczewski, *Franciszkanie w monarchii Piastów i Jagiellonów w*

What status did Smotrych have, if the chronicles traditionally begin the story of the Koriatovyches' arrival in Podillya with this city? I propose to examine the information given by numismatic sources, which have direct relevance to the region's history but have been underestimated and unknown until recently. Written sources from Podillya often include a term "Podillya groschen."³⁴ Discovered in 2004 in the city of Dunaivtsi (32 kilometres north of Kamyanets), a coin has made it possible to identify previously known, but unidentified, coins and consider a different approach to the status of Smotrych as one of the centres of the Koriatovych brothers' Podillya Principality.

The obverse side of the coin carries the script **+MONETA ★ CONSTA[N]TINI**, the reverse side **+D[VCIS] H[ERES]³⁵ [ET] DOMINI ★ DE SMOTRIC³⁶**. The name of the city, Smotrych, embossed on the coin of Kostyantyn Koriatovych raises questions about the status of the city in the hierarchy of Podolian cities. The legend of the foundation of Kamyanets has been recorded in the chronicles, the earliest of which is *A Tale on Podillya*, dated to around the 1430s, and, despite designating Smotrych as the first city/capital or residence of the Koriatovyches, it makes no further mention of it (Figure 2).

To the contrary, the mentions of Smotrych and no other sites on the Podolian coins known today have led researchers to revisit the issue of the city's status. Without these artefacts, our knowledge concerning the city would be based on tradition, originating from the chronicles discussed. One should remember that the city was home for the Dominican monastery, a castle, and German colonists. However, German—definitely, not Slavic—names, such as *Fricz*, *Michael*, *Philippo*, and perhaps *Symon*, with the place of origin *de Smotricz* in the registrar book of Lviv, reveal another dimension to the city.³⁷ It was the city inhabited by German-speaking citizens with a Catholic parish. Moreover, Fricz, the first of them, is described as *scabinus*, or *lawnik* (*lava*: court member, assessor); therefore, he was supposed to be a citizen of Lviv at that time, in the 1380s.³⁸ Given

średniowieczu: Powstanie—rozwój—organizacja wewnętrzna (Kraków: Avalon, 2012), 368–69. Janusz Kurtyka argues that the list was written in 1344 or 1345: Kurtyka, "Repertorium podolskie: Dokumenty do 1430 roku," № 1, 311. Tadeusz Trajdos has the same opinion: Tadeusz Trajdos, "Kościół Katolicki na średniowiecznym Podolu," in *Kościół chrześcijański na Podolu*, ed. Tadeusz Trajdos (Warszawa: DiG, 2015), 14.

34 Віталій Михайловський, "Західне Поділля під Володінням Вітовта у 1411–1430 роках: надавча політика у світлі документів," in *До джерел. Збірник наукових праць на пошану Олега Купчинського з нагоди його 70-річчя*, vol. 2 (Київ, 2004), 116–19.

35 An alternative transcription is **H[EREDES]**.

36 Олег Погорілець, Ростислав Саввов, "Монета подільського князя Костянтина," *Нумізматики і фалеристика*, no. 3 (Липень–Вересень 2004), 25.

37 *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa z Archiwum miasta*, ed. Aleksandr Czołowski, vol. 1: *Najstarsza księga miejska 1382–1389* (Lwów, 1892), № 1, 22, 85, 142, 229, 230a, 233, 282, 327, 328, 350a, 389, 453, 460, 466, 479, 491, 536, 719, 731 (*Fricz de Smotricz*); 229 (*Michael de Smotricz*); 406 (*Philippo de Smotricz*); 176 (*Symon*).

38 Ibid. № 1, 22, 85, 142, 229, 233, 350a, 389, 453, 460, 466.



Figure 2 Podolian halfgroschen, currency that circulated in Podillya from the 1370s through the 1450s. Obverse left, reverse right. Kept in private collection of Oleh Pohorilets. 2012. Photo by Oleh Pohorilets. Used with permission.

the mentions of *Frydlo* and *Rymer Henricus* from Kamyanets (*de Kamenecz*)³⁹ in the Lviv registrar book, it is reasonable to assume that there was a sizable Catholic community in Podillya, for whom George Koriatovych founded a parish patronized by Dominican monks.

The relocation or foundation of one more centre in Kamyanets was supposedly caused by both the establishment of a Catholic diocese between 1382 and 1384 and its unique location.⁴⁰ If we disregard these statements, we can explain the emergence of the second centre in Podillya by the Koriatovyches' attempt to adopt the model of the main Lithuanian cities. The first capital there, Trakai, began to gradually lose its importance after the founding of the new capital, Vilnius, though the former remained a significant centre in the Grand Duchy. One should not rule out the possibility of replication of such a governance system, and there was long-standing cooperation between Grand Prince Algirdas and his brother Kestutis, who were uncles of the Koriatovych brothers. To avoid conflicts, the elder brothers might have chosen some *udels* within a new territory. This assumption allows me to draw some parallels between the core of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Podillya, or Podillya Principality, where Smotrych would mirror Trakai, and Kamyanets would mirror Vilnius. However, the difficulty of proving this claim is that, unlike with Algirdas and Kestutis, we have poor knowledge of the Koriatovych brothers' descendants,⁴¹ even though the distances between these two pairs of cities are comparable, at about 30 kilometres each.

³⁹ Ibid. № 113, 114, 131, 132, 136, 213, 235, 287, 358 (*Frydlo de Kamenecz*); 115, 231, 463, 579 (*Rymer Henricus de Kamenecz*).

⁴⁰ Trajdos, "Kościół Katolicki na średniowiecznym Podolu," 71.

⁴¹ Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia*, 167–95.

The records of the cities in the sources encourage researchers to examine the role they played in the formation of the administrative structure of Podillya in the second half of the fourteenth century and early fifteenth—that is to say, before the emergence of Podillya Voivodeship in 1434 and the imagery of Great Podillya reaching as far as the Dnieper River.

The available sources name a wide range of counties (before 1434): Bakota (mentioned for the first time in 1410),⁴² Bozhsky (1395),⁴³ Bratslav (1392),⁴⁴ Vinnytsya (1395),⁴⁵ Zvenyhorod (1431),⁴⁶ Kamyanets (1402),⁴⁷ Letychiv (1402),⁴⁸ Medzhybizh (1395),⁴⁹ Skala (1409),⁵⁰ Smotrych (1404),⁵¹ Sokilets (1391),⁵² Stinka (1395),⁵³ Terebovlya (1392),⁵⁴ Khmilnyk (1434),⁵⁵ and Chervonohrod (1410).⁵⁶ There are fifteen counties in total, but, since Bozhsky County is mentioned in the sources only once, in 1395, being replaced by Letychiv in the similar list of counties/castles dated by 1402, the total sum might be reduced to fourteen.

The list of counties and the number of castles at that time are almost similar, but with the difference that there is no information about any castles in Stinka, Bozhsky, and Medzhybizh, although one should not exclude the possibility of their existence there. The usage of the names of counties in the sources is related to the presence of castles, the centres of these territorial units.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that almost all the cities identified from “The List” were the centres of the respective counties; therefore, in the second half of the fourteenth century the regional cities network of Podillya formed along the Southern Bug River (Medzhybizh, Bozhsky/Letychiv, Khmilnyk, Vinnytsya, Bratslav, and Sokilets), in the western part of the region (Chervonohrod, Terebovlya, Skala, and Kamyanets), and in the east (Zvenyhorod and Cherkasy). Cities and castles in the Southern Bug basin were likely to be the footholds on the route that connected the Black Sea coast and Crimea with European states. Adding Zvenyhorod and Cherkasy to the list of Podolian cities

⁴² Władysław Pobóg-Górski, *Powiat Mohylowski w gubernii Podolskiej: Opis geograficzno-historyczny* (Kraków: Czas, 1902), 173.

⁴³ CV, № 115, 39.

⁴⁴ Мікульскі, “Новая грамота Фёдора Кориатовича 1392 г.,” 149.

⁴⁵ CV, № 115, 39.

⁴⁶ Бучинський, “Кілька причинків,” 132.

⁴⁷ ZDM, vol. 6, № 1651, 198.

⁴⁸ KDM, vol. 4, № 1079, 89.

⁴⁹ CV, № 115, 39.

⁵⁰ Ibid., № 115, 38.

⁵¹ KDM, vol. 4, № 1079, 89.

⁵² Груша, “Невядомая грамота Фёдора Карыятовича,” 132.

⁵³ CV, № 115, 39.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Розов, *Українські грамоти*, № 71, 130.

⁵⁶ ZDM, vol. 6 № 1736, 314.

was, rather, a situational phenomenon it is hard to justify. The only plausible explanation for such an addition might be the need to outline the borders—or, rather, delineate the spheres of influence—between the territories. The inability of Kyiv to expand its power northwards resulted in Zvenyhorod and Cherkasy being taken under the control of Podolian rulers in the pre-Lithuanian time.

The prevailing designation of regions at that time is a district (*povit*), or a volost. These terms were used depending on the language of a document: documents in Latin prefer the term “count” (*districtus*), while Ruthenian documents go for *volost*. It is additional evidence that this frontier region had a multifaceted nature.

The name of Podillya emerged thanks to the region’s new rulers, the Koriatovyches, Lithuanian princes from the Gediminid family. They began taking the territory under their control in the middle of the fourteenth century. The country of dales, Podillya became a new principality encompassing both the southeastern Ruthenian lands and the western Tatar possessions. It was shaped by trade routes, known in the West as *via tartarica* and exploited for the transportation of the so-called “eastern” goods to the west, as well as slaves and commodities to the east. The territory of the region was perceived as divided into three parts, belonging not only to three “owners of father’s and grandfather’s possessions” (“отчичи и дедичи”) of Podillya, who had lost the Battle of Blue Waters, but also to the sons of Kuremsa. This premise sheds a new light on the formation of a new region with a Ruthenian name likely given to it by Lithuanian princes, whereas the entire territory—from Kamyanets and Smotrych in the west to Cherkasy and Zvenyhorod to the east, from the Ros’ River basin in the north and the lower Dniester and Southern Bug Rivers in the south—would be shaped by Tatar rule for more than a century.

Chapter 4

THREE TATAR KINGDOMS IN THE WESTERN PART OF THE GOLDEN HORDE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

TRADITIONALLY, THE CHRONICLES of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania connect the subordination of the future Podillya to the Gediminas dynasty to the events that took place in response to Algirdas's victory at the Battle of Blue Waters in 1362, when he defeated the rulers of Podillya—Hadjibei, Kutlubuh, and Dmytro. The Suprasl Chronicle designates them as "the owners of father's and grandfather's possessions of Podolian land" ("отчичи и дедъчи Подольскоу земли") and "brothers" ("брату"),¹ which refers, as Nikolay Ruseev suggests, to their equal rank in the Golden Horde's society of that time. They were not the relatives but the rulers of *tümen*.² In this context, the number of rulers corresponds to the three sons of Kuremsa, who ruled his possessions in the middle of the thirteenth century (see [Chapter 1](#)).

Historians have been interested in the mapping of these Tatar rulers' possessions for a long time. The possessions of Hadjibei and Kutlubuh are mapped on the basis of place names such as Hadjibei, a settlement on the territory of modern-day Odesa, and the lake of Katlabuh (corresponding to the name of Kutlubuh), near the modern city of Izmail. These versions have both their supporters—Yaroslav Dashkevych,³ Nikolay Ruseev⁴—and critics who undermine the theories, such as Oleksandr Halenko. According to Halenko, the ulus of Kutlubuh was situated in Crimea,⁵ which is hard to square with the subsequent history of Podillya.

Without getting into the issue of identifying Hadjibei and Kutlubuh within the Horde's elite of that time (although it is worth noting that a number of attempts have been made), let us take a look at the geographical markers referring to Kutlubuh. There is a consensus among most researchers that Hadjibei's possessions were located between the Dniester River and the Southern Bug River, based on the numerous mentions of the settlement of Hadjibei since the fifteenth century.

There are some interesting observations on the toponyms and hydronyms consonant with the Kutlubuh name. Similar to or derivative of it is the name of a village and the Kotlubaivka River in the western Vinnytsya oblast. The village with such a name has no mentions in the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century sources, and it was recorded for the first time in the Kamyanets registry book in 1604; according to Mykola Krykun,

1 ПСРЛ, vol. 35, 66.

2 Николай Русев, "Молдавия в 'темные века,'" *Stratum Plus* 5 (1999), 389.

3 Дашкевич, "Степові держави на Поділлі," 112–21.

4 Русев, "Молдавия в 'темные века,'" 388.

5 Олександр Галенко, "Золота Орда у битві на Синіх Водах у 1362 р.," in *Синьоводська проблема у новітніх дослідженнях*, 136–37.

the village did not exist in the sixteenth century.⁶ In this case, the name of the village is assumed to originate later; thus, the origin of the village, as well as its name, would be closely connected to the members of a Turkic family that had lived in that part of Podillya and had received the land as remuneration for their service.

Nevertheless, the Kotlubaivka River,⁷ another geographical marker, which is the second name of the Bronytsya River, with its sources near the village of Kotlubaivka, leads us to look closely at the river's name. In the Middle Ages it was mapped as Kotlubaivka.⁸ Bronytsya, the other name of the river, was recorded only one time in the Middle Ages—in 1470 (*Bronicza* 1470).⁹ Two hydronyms similar to Kutlubuh's name—the Kotlubiy River (the Tyligul basin) and the Kotluy River (the Ros' basin)—undermine the claim about some other region of Kutlubuh's possessions than the territory around Katlabuh Lake.¹⁰ Their locations make the mapping of the possessions of Kutlubuh problematic, even though hydronyms, according to linguists, are the most reliable markers in linguistic and historical information.¹¹

The most intriguing is the task of delineating the possessions of Dmytro. His personality has been of interest to historians since the publication of chronicles with *A Tale on Podillya* and the description of the Battle of Blue Waters. His distinctly Slavic—or, rather, Christian—name stood out among Tatar names in the fourteenth century. Researchers have made assumptions based on the quote mentioned above from the text about Dmytro's possessions written in 1368 and the locality on the Dniester River, Miterevi Kyshyni, in 1419.

His name links Dmytro's possessions to one of the most interesting geographical markers found in the 1392 document for Pashko Vasnovych, in which “at Dmitro's” (*на Дмитрове*) is written next to the village of Baksanovtsi to make the mapping more precise. Until 2014 the document was unknown to researchers; therefore, this information had not been used to map Dmytro's probable possessions. Unfortunately, the attempts to identify Baksanovtsi as a late fourteenth- or fifteenth-century locality have not been successful. The village is not mentioned in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century sources either.¹² In this context, the mapping of the village does not play as important a role

6 Микола Крикун, “Кількість і структура поселень Подільського воєводства в 1 пол. XVII ст.,” in Микола Крикун, *Подільське воєводство у XV–XVIII ст: Статті і матеріали* (Львів, 2011), 269.

7 *Словник гідронімів України*, 277.

8 For example, <https://maps.google.com>.

9 Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (in Warsaw), Tak zwana Metryka Litewska, dział IV B, sygn. 17, “Kopie dokumentów rewizji wojewódzów podolskiego i bełskiego z 1564 roku,” k. 59–59v.

10 *Словник гідронімів України*, 277.

11 Зиновія Франко, *Грамматична будова українських гідронімів* (Київ: Наукова думка, 1979), 3.

12 *Документи Брацлавського воєводства 1566–1606 років*, ed. Микола Крикун and Олексій Піддубняк (Львів, 2008); Микола Крикун, “Кількість і структура поселень Брацлавського воєводства в першій половині XVII століття,” in Микола Крикун, *Брацлавське воєводство у XVI–XVIII століттях: Статті і матеріали* (Львів: Видавництво Українського Католицького Університету, 2008), 187–301.

as the usage of the phrase “at Dmytro’s,” which may indicate some territory or part of Podillya in the second half of the fourteenth century.

In one of his last works dedicated to Podillya, Yaroslav Dashkevych attempted to reconstruct the possessions of Tatar rulers before the Battle of Blue Waters.¹³ In this context, the reconstruction of Dmytro’s possessions is his most productive effort.¹⁴ Due to the presence of the geographical marker “at Dmytro’s” in Pashko Vasnovych’s document, one can try to map Dmytro’s possessions. Dashkevych has proposed placing this territory in the southwestern part of Podillya with the Savran River as its northern border, which later could serve as the border between the Lithuanian and the Golden Horde’s parts of Podillya. He based his argument on toponyms with *Dmytr-*, *Dymytr-* (*Дмитр-*, *Димитр-*) stems: Dmytriv Kil’sh, Dymytrivka, Dymytrapol’ (Дмитрів Кільш, Димитрівка, Димитрополь).¹⁵ Additionally, Miterevi Kyshyni on the Dniester River (a water crossing point), mentioned by the monk Zosima in 1419, originated from a shared stem *-Dmytr-*.¹⁶ Such a density of toponyms with a stem that probably reflects the name of the ruler allows us to suggest that the phrase “at Dmytro’s” from the 1392 document means that it was located within Dmytro’s lands. As Dashkevych suggests, Dmytro’s possessions were conquered by the Koriatovyches (Lithuanians, in Dashkevych’s interpretation) between 1377 and 1380.¹⁷ This campaign might have caused the death of Aleksander Koriatovych, since the records concerning him in the sources end at that time.

The distance in time between the late 1370s and the early 1390s is so small that the marker “at Dmytro’s” from the Pashko Vasnovych document was probably the most comprehensive to the parties of the agreement.

Another argument in favour of the mapping of Dmytro’s possessions and in support of the theory of Dashkevych about a possible border on the Savran River is the mention about the rights of Pashkovych’s people to place beehives in the forests, while an owner had to account for them, “and search in Savran and Saradczyn, and Bobrovo” (*и искати в Саврани и Сарадчыне и Боброве*). The two latter toponyms of Saradchyn (perhaps the modern village of Sarazhynka, Baltsky district, Odesa oblast) and Bobrove (probably modern Pershy Bobryk, Lyubashivsky district, Odesa oblast) fit well into the borders of Dmytro’s possessions described by Dashkevych.

The phrase “at Dmytro’s” in the 1392 document of Podillya’s Prince Fedir Koriatovych and a broad range of derived hydronyms between the Dniester River, the Southern Bug River, and the Dnieper River strengthen the identification of Dmytro’s possessions, summarized by Dashkevych. Concerning the other two rulers, it should be accepted that the lands under the rule of Hadjibei are located between the Dniester River and the Southern

¹³ Дашкевич, “Степові держави на Поділлі,” 112–21.

¹⁴ Ibid., 115–18.

¹⁵ Ibid., 117. In the first half of the seventeenth century there were the localities of Dmytrashivka (Dmitraszowka) and Dmytrushky (Dmitruszki) in Bratslav voivodeship: Крикун, М. *Кількість і структура поселень Брацлавського воєводства в першій половині XVII століття*, 221.

¹⁶ “Хожение инока Зосимы 1419–1422 гг.,” 2.

¹⁷ Дашкевич, “Степові держави на Поділлі,” 118.

Bug River; whereas the attempts to identify the territory of Kutlubuh using toponyms and hydronyms seem to be useless because of their dispersion. Precise definition of their location is less important than the fact of the existence of three territories owned by the chronicle's "owners of father's and grandfather's possessions" of Podillya. But that is not the end of the story about a trifold Podillya.

Three Phantom Kingdoms in the Battle of Grunwald

The number "three" in connection with Podillya appeared for the last time in 1410, when three Podolian district banners (*chorągiew ziemska*) participated in the Battle of Grunwald as part of a united Polish–Lithuanian army. In his *Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland*, Jan Długosz explains that, due to the high population, the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth units from Podillya were all on the battlefield under the sign of the Sun on a red backdrop.¹⁸ This example is an exception among the list of regional or district banners (there were banners from the Lviv, Halych, Peremyshl [Przemyśl], and Kholm [Chełm] lands of the Ruthenian part of the Crown) noted in the extensive description of the army. The chronicler's explanation of that number of units from Podillya sounds quite bizarre. According to him, it was linked to a significant amount of people (*tria enim signa abundante multitudine habebat*). Długosz's interpretation has become the classic example of the impossibility of either confirming or denying this fact. Considered by historians only in line with the political reality of the early fourteenth century, this phenomenon was not explained adequately, although this fact has been present in all works referring to the battle and the 1409–1411 campaign in general.¹⁹ This exception was remarkable, but its explanation quite weak.

In his last fundamental work on the history of the campaign, Krzysztof Kwiatkowski attempted to illustrate this phenomenon in a traditional way, having noted that the number of units of Podillya did not necessarily correspond to the region's administrative and territorial system in the fourteenth century in general, bearing in mind the future Podillya Voivodeship. Kwiatkowski also argues that the region was scarcely populated and therefore was not able to provide the campaign with such a high number of soldiers.²⁰ Due to the lack of sources about Podillya at that time, it seems reasonable to agree with the last statement, although it does not work as an argument about the number of Podillya's inhabitants in general. Documents of Fedir Koriatovych, written in 1391 and 1392 and well known today, reveal the fact that people surrounding the

18 Ioannis Dlugosii, *Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Polonie*, libri 10–11: 1404–1412, ed. Krzysztof Baczkowski, Danuta Turkowska, and Franciszek Sikora (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1997), 90: "*Decimum septimum, decimum octavum et decimum nonum terre Podolie (tria enim signa abundante multitudine habebat) quorum quodlibet faciem solarem in campo rubeo habebat pro insigni.*"

19 Andrzej Nadolski, *Grunwald 1410* (Warszawa: Bellona, 1996), 57–58.

20 Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, "Wyprawa letnia 1410 roku," in Sławomir Jóźwiak, Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, Adam Szweda, and Sobiesław Szybkowski, *Wojna Polski i Litwy z zakonem krzyżackim w latach 1409–1411* (Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 2010), 280–81.

last princes of Podillya—Hrynko from Sokilets and Pashko Vasnovych—received large estates with several dozens of settlements in the eastern part of Podillya.²¹ The first document mentions thirteen localities, the second document seven. Although this amount of settlements does not contradict the statement about the scarcely populated region, it makes it less definitive, to say the least. Historians have revealed so many settlements in only two documents related to the eastern part of the region, which is close to the steppe zone and susceptible to danger, that there should be another explanation for the number of Podolian banners in the army of Władysław II Jagiełło during the Battle of Grunwald.

An attempt to link the number of Podolian banners to an administrative and territorial system appears to be reasonable, since Podillya in the second half of the fourteenth century and early fifteenth, as we know from “The List” (see [Chapter 3](#)), had fifteen main centres—castles, centres of castle counties, and cities. Therefore, the region might have had enough resources to mobilize armed forces and compose three banners. As Krzysztof Kwiatkowski notes, the mobilization capacity of the Ruthenian lands of the Polish Kingdom was impressive, according to Długosz: in 1426 the king mobilized, upon request from the king of Hungary, Sigismund of Luxemburg, 5,000 soldiers from Ruthenian lands.²² All these nobles came from a larger and more populated territory outside Podillya, which was under the rule of Vytautas at that time (see [Chapter 7](#)). During the total mobilization of noblemen from Ruthenian lands called for by the king for his campaign,²³ as mentioned in Długosz’s chronicle, their number was sufficiently large. Summarizing his suggestions, Kwiatkowski notes that military units from Podillya might have fought in the campaign, although he has no answer, and neither does he offer any solution how to find a definite answer that explains the case.

In his narrative about the mobilization, Długosz states that all the noblemen from the Ruthenian lands had to participate in the campaign and those who disobeyed the king’s order were sentenced to imprisonment. The severity of the punishment derived from the fact that the Ruthenian noblemen were not subjects to Crown law but were considered personal servants of the king, and had to obey all his orders—even to fight in his campaigns outside the kingdom. Unlike the Ruthenian noblemen or the nobles residing in the Ruthenian domain of the king, the Crown (Polish) noblemen, starting from 1374, achieved the right, granted by King Louis I of Hungary in Košice, to be released from participation in campaigns in exchange for pay. Another duty of the king was to fund the overseas campaigns of the noblemen.²⁴

²¹ Груша, “Невядома грамата Фёдора Карыятавіча за 1391 г.,” 130–34; Мікульскі, “Новая грамота князя Фёдора Кориатовича 1392 г.,” 147–50.

²² Kwiatkowski, *Wyprawa letnia 1410 roku*, 281.

²³ Ioannis Dlugosii, *Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*, liber 11: 1413–1430, ed. Krzysztof Baczkowski, Danuta Turkowska, and Franciszek Sikora (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2000), 221: “[O]mnibus terrarum tantummodo Russie baronibus et militibus in expidicionem huiusmodi iubet proficisci.”

²⁴ Wacław Uruszczyk, *Historia państwa i prawa polskiego*, vol. 1: 966–1795, 3rd edn (Warszawa: Wolters Kluwer Business, 2016), 158.

If we compare the 5,000 people mobilized in 1426, as Długosz states, with other sources, we can use the list of noblemen that arrived at Halych on June 28, 1427. There were forty-six noblemen from the Lviv Land, forty-six from the Peremyshl Land, sixty-three from the Halych Land, ninety from the Sanok Land, twenty-eight from the Terebovlya district, fourteen from the Kolomyia district, and 132 from different lands and districts of the Ruthenian lands.²⁵ In sum, there were 419 noblemen. Even if we assume that not all of them came to the meeting with the monarch, this number could serve as a benchmark for the mobilization capacity of the Ruthenian lands at that time. Even if we count all the servants a nobleman took with him into a campaign, the number suggested by Długosz and used by Kwiatkowski as an example is quite exaggerated.

The search for an answer about the three Podolian banners should not be linked to the number of inhabitants, as Długosz suggests, since we will never find a satisfactory answer. In my opinion, the three Podolian banners in the Battle of Grunwald in 1410 refer to the existence of a specific Podillya identity of a region divided into—or, rather, consisting of—three parts, which are the possessions of *отчучіє і дідучіє*, defeated in the Battle of Blue Waters in 1362. Długosz was not probably familiar with this. Thus, he offered an explanation that was logical from his point of view. The time when he was writing his chronicle (between the 1440s and 1470s) was too remote not only from the war with the Teutonic Order but also from the emerging of Podillya as a separate region in the Ukrainian lands for almost a century. We should not, therefore, expect him to explain this phenomenon adequately. But, in 1410, the total mobilization of Ruthenian lands, called for by Władysław II Jagiełło, was so thoroughly administered that three Podolian banners from three parts of the region were mobilized. I would assume that Kamyanets and Smotrych to the west, Bratslav and Sokilets in the centre, and Cherkasy and Zvenyhorod to the east were the mobilization sites of Podillya.

The partition of Podillya into three parts was probably finished in the middle of the thirteenth century, when Kuremsa assigned his three sons to govern the territory. The next time the triple partition of Podillya appears in the sources written after Algirdas's victory over the three rulers of Podillya is in connection with the Battle of Blue Waters, in 1362. The designation of the village of Baksanovytsi as *на Дмитрове*, done for a more detailed mapping of the settlement in Pashko Vasnovych's document in 1392 (when Podillya was under the rule of the Koriatovyches), helps one locate more precisely at least one territory belonging to three rulers of Podillya. The emergence of three Podolian banners in the Battle of Grunwald demonstrates the existence of the region's identity as a territory consisting of three parts.

²⁵ Counted according to Oskar Halecki, *Z Jana Zamoyskiego inwentarza Archiwum Koronnego: Materiały do dziejów Rusi i Litwy z XV wieku* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1917), 36–50.

Chapter 5

THE KORiatOVYCH BROTHERS AT THE SERVICE OF CASIMIR III THE GREAT AND LOUIS I OF HUNGARY

THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE of the Koriatovych brothers has been largely unchanged since the second half of the nineteenth century. Such a gloomy picture is, first of all, attributable to the sources— of which there are, indeed, only a few. Traditionally, most of the stories about the coming to power of the brothers begin with information taken from Lithuanian chronicles and annals and tell how Algirdas, along with his nephews, defeated three rulers of Podillya in the Battle of Blue Waters. The later the origin of these texts, the more “details” the stories have.

The textbook description of the events is based, many historians believe, on solid foundations in *A Tale on Podillya*, which is represented in several copies, the earliest of which is dated to between the 1430s and 1450s. However, the plot of the story hardly helps understand the logic of events described from the viewpoint of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and aimed at returning Podillya to the duchy, since *A Tale on Podillya* was written at the time of a long-lasting political, and sometimes even military, struggle with the Kingdom of Poland. But that is another story altogether.

In the nineteenth century and early twentieth, Ukrainian historiography saw several ideologically different processes happening here. Nikandr Molchanovsky defined the story as “taking of the territory” and even argued that Podillya had not been conquered at that time.¹ For Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the arrival of the Koriatovych, the Lithuanian princes, was an occupation of Podillya.² Olena Rusyna, a modern researcher, calls these events the liberation³ of Podillya from the hegemony of Tatars, even though the chapter with this description is titled “Lithuanian Expansion on Ukrainian Lands.”

Since the nineteenth century Polish historiography, to the contrary, has attempted to show, although not always proficiently, the Koriatovyches’ allegiance to Casimir III the Great. Almost every study on the fourteenth century has treated Podillya as a vassal state of the Kingdom of Poland since 1366. The claim has prevailed as axiomatic.⁴ The year 1366 does indicate that George and Aleksander, the elder sons of Koriat and the

1 Никандр Молчановский, *Очерк известий о Подольской земле до 1434 года* (Киев, 1885), 182. This monograph chapter is titled “Занятие Подольской земли Литовцами и Подольские князья: Константин, Юрий, Александр и Федор Кориатовичи,” 169–227.

2 Михайло Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси*, vol. 4 (Київ: Наукова думка, 1993), 87–91.

3 Олена Русина, “Україна під татарами і литвою,” in *Україна крізь віки*, vol. 6 (Київ: Видавничий дім “Альтернативи”, 1998), 55.

4 *The Historical Atlas of Poland*, ed. Władysław Czapliński, 2nd edn (Warszawa: Państwowe Przedsiębiorstwo Wydawnictw Kartograficznych, 1986), 12–13: “Poland during the Reign of Casimir the Great.” Here, Podillya is designated “territories annexed to the State by Casimir the Great” starting from 1366.

witnesses along with Yuri Narymuntovych (Jurgis Narimantaitis—who was, ironically, the cousin of the Koriatovych brothers on the king's document), joined Casimir's side.⁵ The events that followed only confirm that the Koriatovych brothers became the king's vassals.

Following the assumption that the Koriatovych brothers began to govern Podillya at the end of the 1340s, simultaneously with the second campaign of the Polish King Casimir III the Great on Ruthenian lands (1349), the traditional view of takeover of these lands by the brothers after the Battle of Blue Waters has to be moved at least a decade and a half back. The second campaign of Casimir III the Great was a crucial one in the process of adding large parts of the Kingdom of Rus', namely the territories around Lviv and Halych. Other lands, such as Sanok and Peremyshl, had become part of Casimir's possessions earlier, between 1340 and 1349.

The eastward expansion of the western king's rule should have had its limits. It was the Halych lands that served as a move stopper. And, while the border on the right bank of the Dniester River is likely to have been drawn within the territories around the city of Snyatyn, which is a few kilometres upstream from the confluence of the Cheremosh and Prut Rivers, there are some difficulties with mapping the border on the left bank. Known as the ancient centre of the *udel's* principality since the eleventh century, Terebovlya was perhaps the left-bank border, having been the last big city in the eastern part of the Kingdom of Rus'. The problem is that, in 1395, King Władysław II Jagiełło separated the Terebovlya and Stinka counties from Podillya and took them under his control, arguing that the counties had belonged to the Kingdom of Poland for ages, since the reign of Casimir III the Great and Vladislaus II of Opole.⁶ In that case, to what city or border did Casimir III the Great expand his rule? And did Terebovlya belong to him before 1370?

Verification of the hypothesis mentioned above appears to be difficult because it is poorly supported by sources. If we suppose that Casimir ruled over Terebovlya in the 1360s, then when did the city become part of the Koriatovyches' possessions? "The List" (see [Chapter 3](#)) answers this question by identifying Terebovlya as the city belonging to Volhynia (sic!) and not listing Stinka at all.⁷ If "The List", as we suppose, was written in the mid-1370s, then it is possible that this territory became part of the Koriatovyches' possessions not after the death of Casimir III the Great but after 1377/78, when Vladislaus II of Opole no longer governed the Ruthenian domain of the king. It might have been one of the ways to show Louis I of Hungary's gratitude to the Koriatovych brothers for his acceptance of Hungarian authority over Podillya Principality.

Concerning the tradition of Casimir III the Great and Vladislaus II of Opole owning the counties of Terebovlya and Stinka, recorded in a 1395 document, it needs to be clarified if the representative of Louis I did expand his authority over these counties. The only document that has some relevant records is a privilege given to Michał Awdaniec

⁵ Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia*, 304.

⁶ CV, № 115, 39: "[D]istrictus Trebowliensis et Szenca observentur circa iura ea in quibus tempore filicis et eterne recordacionis incliti Kazimiri regis Polonie nostri predecessoris et Ladislai ducis Oppoliensis alias tenutarii illarum parcium observabantur."

⁷ Тихомиров, "Список русских городов дальних и ближних," 95.

for owning Buchach and a number of surrounding villages in the counties of Halych and Koropets (*et districtu Haliciensis et Cropecensis*).⁸ Therefore, there are no privileges by which Vladislaus II of Opole granted any lands, at least in the county of Terebovlya. The only privilege for land not far from Terebovlya is a privilege granted to the village of Zarvanytsya (about 30 kilometres away), presented during the lands enumeration in 1469⁹ without any reference to a county. Listed in the privilege for Michał Awdaniec, Koropets County might be regarded, to some extent, as identical to its neighbouring Stinka County, because the distance between the two was only a couple of kilometres. Thus, we can suggest that Casimir III the Great was likely to have owned Terebovlya and Stinka after 1349, and then the Koriatovych brothers took the lands under their control, most likely no earlier than the mid-1370s.

An extended overview of the subordination of certain counties along the western border of the Koriatovyches' possessions enables us to observe the difficulties encountered and note the instability of their authority over the new territory. In this context, the issue of the eastern border of the king's possessions on Ruthenian lands remains unsolved.

Since the Koriatovyches received a vast territory that had belonged to the Golden Horde, a simple question arises as to who might have been their ally against the Tatars, the rulers of those lands for more than a hundred years. Could the newly arrived conquerors have acted on their own accord, without allies or patrons, or, in terms of the Middle Ages, without vassals—in this case, without strong rulers, or neighbouring states, or blood relatives?

Overlooked by researchers from Central and Eastern Europe, another aspect that probably led to political changes in the region—and, paradoxically, coincided in time with the Koriatovyches' taking control of Podillya—was the Black Death, the plague. Having been carried by merchants in the Black Sea basin, the pandemic erupted in 1346 and lasted at least until 1353.¹⁰ According to Nühket Varlik, although we do not know precisely how the plague reached Caffa, we know how it spread over to the Mediterranean Sea basin.¹¹ The epidemic might have contributed to the expansion of the Ottomans and the emergence of the Ottoman Empire; the disease spread along the fixed

8 ZDM, vol. 7: *Dokumenty króla Władysława Jagiełły z lat 1418–1434*, ed. Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś and Stanisław Kuras (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1975), № 2012, 227–29; Jerzy Sperka, *Władysław książę opolski, wieluński, kujawski, dobrzyński, pan Rusi, palatyn Węgier i namiestnik Polski (1326/1330—8 lub 18 maja 1401)* (Kraków: Avalon, 2012), 356.

9 "Bona Regalia Onerata in terris Russiae, etc. Lustratio 1469 r.," in *Źródła dziejowe*, ed. Aleksander Jabłonowski, vol. 18, pt. 1 (Warszawa, 1902), 55. On the issue of lands given to Vladislaus II of Opole, see Aleksy Gilewicz, *Stanowisko i działalność gospodarcza Władysława Opolczyka na Rusi w latach 1372–1378* (Lwów, 1929), 30–31; and Sperka, *Władysław książę opolski*, 355–56.

10 Nühket Varlik, "New Science and Old Sources: Why the Ottoman Experience of Plague Matters," in *The Medieval Globe*, vol. 1: *Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death*, ed. Monica H. Green (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2014), 197.

11 Nühket Varlik, *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World: The Ottoman Experience, 1347–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 97–98.

trade routes.¹² It is likely that the settled population of the Jochid Ulus over the right bank of the Dnieper was weakened and, just as in Anatolia, became easy prey for the newcomers from the north.

The death of Bolesław-Jerzy II, the last ruler of the Kingdom of Rus', in April 1340 was one of the main reasons for changes in the political affiliation of the Ukrainian lands in the middle of the fourteenth century. His death radically shifted the balance of power among his heirs, the Polish King Casimir III the Great and Prince Liubartas. The question was: who out of the two would have the capacity to present the claims for ownership and quickly pursue them? The most recent research by Stanisław Szczur proposes revising the narrative of negotiations between Casimir III and Bolesław-Jerzy II in Polish historiography on account of the lack of reliable sources. Active participation by Casimir III in the process of subjugating the lands after the death of the last ruler of the Kingdom of Rus' was, according to Szczur, related to the fact that the Polish king, as the eldest and the most powerful member of the Piast dynasty, had more rights to inherit the possessions of his dead relative. In general, such a premise fit the plans of the king and his milieu.¹³

Perhaps, when the conflict went public, it drew the attention of the Koriatovyches, who sided with Liubartas, to that region. On the other hand, Algirdas probably had plans to conquer Ruthenian lands bordering the steppe. To pursue his goal, he could use the descendants of Gediminas. It should be noted that most of the young Gediminids had no *udel* possessions, and could not have them, due to obvious reasons. The only way for them to obtain lands was to reach out to new areas from the domain of their dynasty.

Podillya seemed to be a place distant enough from those territories (Lviv, Lutsk, Belz) that were in the epicentre of major confrontations for the heritage of the Kingdom of Rus' in the 1340s. It could explain the decision made by the Koriatovyches (if they made their choice voluntarily). Alternatively, they could have taken an order from Algirdas to get back those spacious southeastern lands from the Tatars and to establish their own *udel*, resulting in the emergence of Podillya Principality. Given a threat from the Tatars, such action needed to be patronized by a powerful suzerain and force the brothers to make a strategic choice, because to hold the territory stretching from Smotrych in the west to the Dnieper River in the east was no easy task. There were only two allies to choose from: Algirdas, the Great Duke and their uncle; and Casimir III the Great, the Polish king.

Ukrainian historiography still leans to the point of view formulated by Nikandr Molchanovsky in the late nineteenth century, that the Koriatovyches began ruling over Podillya after the Battle of Blue Waters in 1362. Research works by Janusz Kurtyka and Jan Tęgowski¹⁴ should clarify factual, as well as chronological, aspects of the issue discussed. Thus, I will discuss the main stages of the Koriatovych brothers' search for

¹² Ibid., 107–9.

¹³ Stanisław Szczur, "W sprawie sukcesji andegaweńskiej w Polsce," *Roczniki Historyczne* 75 (2009), 102.

¹⁴ Janusz Kurtyka, "Podole pomiędzy Polską i Litwą w XIV i 1 połowie XV wieku," in *Kamieniec Podolski: Studia z dziejów miasta i regionu*, vol. 1, ed. Feliks Kyrk (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2000), 18–20; Jan Tęgowski, "Sprawa przyłączenia Podola do Korony Polskiej w końcu XIV wieku," in *Teki krakowskie*, vol. 5: *Prace ofiarowane Franciszkowi Sikorze z*

an ally and a patron in Podillya from the 1350s to the 1390s and place emphasis on the events that help us understand the research topic.

Since the beginning of the struggle for the heritage of the last ruler of the Kingdom of Rus', George and Aleksander Koriatovych had been on the side of the Gediminid clan. This position of theirs was obvious, and predictable because of their origin. After they had put down roots in Podillya, and after the campaign in 1349 by Casimir III, who at that time had conquered the southern part of the Kingdom of Rus' and made it the core of his Ruthenian domain, the Koriatovyches had to consider Casimir as their prospective ally and patron. The conflict over the Ruthenian lands between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania lasted from 1340 to 1366 and was ended by Casimir's victory.

The very fact of siding with Casimir seems to be confusing and, at first glance, incomprehensible. What was the reason the brothers chose to lose their family's support for taking the region? In the absence of the only potential source, namely an oath, the year when they joined Casimir's side can be defined only approximately. It probably happened after 1352, but before 1366, in view of the following facts. In the summer of 1352 Prince George Koriatovych was listed on the Lithuanian side in the conflict with the Kingdom of Poland. In the text of a peace agreement signed by the Gediminids and Casimir on Volhynia, George Koriatovych was mentioned among the supporters of Jaunutis, Kestutis, Liubartas, and Jurgis Narimantaitis—that is, with representatives of his family.¹⁵ But, at the end of this long-lasting struggle, we can see George's brother Aleksander Koriatovych in Casimir's milieu. Because of the lack of sources, it is uncertain whether George and Aleksander took the side of Casimir together and at the same time, since George pursued a policy, to some extent successfully, to obtain his own *udel*—as I will explain later.

In October 1366 Liubartas (Dmytro Liubart), prince of Volhynia, signed an agreement with Casimir.¹⁶ The agreement consolidated the outcomes of Casimir's campaign, resulting in his takeover of the city of Volodymyr and surrounding territories. With regard to the city, the king was to build a highly fortified castle, to comply with the city's status as the capital of Volhynia and follow a historical tradition; moreover, many trade routes crossed the city, and it played an important role among contemporary Volhynian cities. Casimir's decision to pass the governance of Volodymyr and its surroundings to Aleksander Koriatovych demonstrates that the Koriatovyches, or Aleksander alone, had taken Casimir's side even earlier.¹⁷ The supposition is that, after the agreement was signed in 1366, Aleksander's appointments constituted a compromise solution, thanks to his origin and his relationship with the most active dukes of the Gediminids in that

okazji sześćdziesięciolecia urodzin (Kraków: Regionalny Ośrodek Studiów i Ochrony Środowiska Kulturowego w Krakowie, 1997), 155–76.

15 Розов, *Українські грамоти*, № 3, 4–7. Analyzing this document, Jan Tęgowski calculates Yuri's probable age, who was probably born in 1330. See Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia*, 168.

16 *Archiwum ksiąg Lubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie*, vol. 1: 1366–1506, ed. Zygmunt Luba Radzimiński (Lwów, 1887), № 1, 1.

17 *KDM*, vol. 3: 1338–1386, ed. Franciszek Piekosiński (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1887), № 701, 89; Karol Maleczyński, *Urzednicy grodzcy i ziemscy lwowscy w latach 1352–1783* (Lwów,

contact zone, which remained subject to rivalry for around a century—from the 1340s to the start of the 1450s—between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The rule of Aleksander Koriatovych in Volodymyr has its physical manifestation, namely a pendent seal written in Latin that he added to one of his documents after leaving Volodymyr and after the death of Casimir III the Great.¹⁸ The picture on the seal, according to Yaroslav Dashkevych, became an element of the coat of arms of Kamyanets in 1370. The image presents Saint Yuri (Saint George) on horseback with a sword and a tree on a field stylized to look similar to the Lithuanian Pagaunė. One can still see a similar depiction on the Ruthenian gateway in Kamyanets-Podilsky, which served as one of the main entrances into the city in the Middle Ages. The symbol on the gateway might be a marker indicating that this fortification was built in the late fourteenth century (Figure 3).

Returning to the issue of Aleksander Koriatovych's rule in Volodymyr, we should recall the chronicle by Jan Długosz. According to him, after the successful campaign against the Lithuanians, Casimir III "keeps Lutsk and Volodymyr, two chief castles, to himself, giving them as fiefs to Polish magnates. He bequeathed the rest of Volodymyr land to Alexander, the Lithuanian Duke, the son of Michael or Koriat, a nephew of Algirdas and Kestutis, a man of proven loyalty and sincerity, to protect [Volodymyr land] from Liubartas and other Lithuanians' raids."¹⁹ Ending the description of how Casimir III had conquered Ruthenian lands and cast out Lithuanian princes in the same year, the chronicler repeatedly emphasizes Aleksander Koriatovych's loyalty to the Polish king: "Duke Aleksander, to whom he granted the territory of Volodymyr, demonstrates in word and deed that he is a loyal subject of Polish King Casimir."²⁰ There is one more evidence of Aleksander's loyalty to the king: he is listed as one of the witnesses (*magnifico duce Allexandro Coriati*) who in 1368 signed a document of the king given to Jan Kmita of Wiśnicz, a Ruthenian starosta at that time.²¹

1938), 151 = ZDM, vol. 8: *Dokumenty z lat 1435–1450*, ed. Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś and Stanisław Kuraś (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1975), № 2534, 358.

18 For a description of the pendent seal (+ S' ALEXANDRI DVS' VLADIMIRIES'), see Ярослав Дашкевич, "Кам'янець-Подільський XVI–XVIII ст.: місто трьох гербів," *Міста та містечка в зербах, прапорах і печатках* 1 (2003), 80.

19 "*Duobus autem castris principalioribus, videlicet Luczsko et Wladimiria sibi reservatis, que baronibus Polonie dedit in tenutam, reliquam terre Wladimiriensis porcionem duci Alexandro Lithuanie, filio <Michaelis alias Koriath ducis Lithvanie et nepoti Olgerdi et> Keystuthonis, viro experte sincereque fidei, quo ab invasione ducis Lubardi et ceterorum Lithuanorum tuta pacificaque consisteret, in gubernacionem comendat*": Ioannis Dlugosii, *Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Polonie*, libri 9: 1300–1370, ed. Józef Garbacz and Krystyna Pieradzka (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978), 332.

20 "*Ex dux quidem Alexander, cui Wladimiriensis terra comendata fuerat, in promissa fide perstitit, verbo pariter et opere se purum et subiectum erga Kazimirum Polonie regem demonstrans ...*": *ibid.*, 333.

21 *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 7 (Lwów, 1878), № 7, 12.



Figure 3 Image of St. George on the Ruthenin Gate in the city of Kamyanets, fifteenth century. 2012. Photo by Vitaliy Mykhaylovskiy.

The aforementioned examples of Aleksander Koriatovych's cooperation with Casimir III the Great most likely provided the grounds for a legend about the marriage of Kostyantyn, a younger brother of Aleksander, and Casimir's daughter. Therefore, Aleksander might have become the king's heir. The Suprasl Chronicle states this when the Koriatovyches took control over Podillya:

And later Polish King Casimir Lokotkovitch [found] that the three brothers Koriatovyches [occupied] a Podolian land, they are courageous people, and he sent warranty letters with the highest ensurance to Prince Kostiantyn and asked him to come over. Understanding that he did not have a son, but only a daughter, and after discussing with his own barons, decided on his intent to marry out his daughter to him [Kostyantyn].²²

22 ПРСЛ, vol. 35, 66: "И затымь [узнал] полскы король Казимир Локотьковичь, што их три браты Корятовичи на Подольской земли, а люди мужьныи, и он прислал к князю Костентину кглеитовныи листы, со великою твердостью и прося его, штобы к нему прияхаль. А умыслив тое собь и своими паны, што в него сына не было, толко была одна дочька, захотель за него дочку дати."

In the Bychowiec Chronicle, this story has quite an extended structure that is similar to the corresponding fragment from the Suprasl Chronicle.²³ There it is noted in the chronicle that Prince Kostyantyn did go to the Polish king. However, he rejected conversion to Catholicism and “[declined to] join that faith” (*κ του въре прустаму*), and then he came back to Podillya, where, according to the chronicle, he died in his own estate (*у на своемъ господарьстве умерл*).²⁴

This fragment has a clear religious connotation. However, there are no available sources that can be instrumental in defining the Koriatovyches’ religious affiliation. Their father was probably baptized in an Orthodox ceremony, so they should have been too. However, all the known sources note that the Koriatovyches were the founders and trustees of the Catholic Church in Podillya. Moreover, they initiated the establishment of the Catholic diocese with Kamyanets as its centre.

These stories—linked, on the one hand, to the Polish Kingdom but, on the other, to Prince Kostyantyn—demonstrate how one becomes a vassal of a more powerful ruler, who, in his turn, uses members of the opposing dynasty to consolidate the achievements of his campaign. However, it is possible that the chronicler confused Aleksander with Kostyantyn, because the latter appeared as the ruler of Podillya only after the death of George Koriatovych in the mid-1370s.

The reign of Aleksander Koriatovych in Volodymyr ended in the fall of 1370, when the Polish king died. According to the chronicle by Jan of Czarńków, which is quoted verbatim by Jan Długosz, Aleksander, as a loyal vassal and one of his heirs, attended the funeral of Casimir III the Great. Lithuanians used his absence and attacked the city of Volodymyr, which was under the rule of Petrasz Turski, appointed by Aleksander.²⁵ It is noteworthy that during his reign Aleksander had to rely on those people who were allotted to him by Casimir (according to Długosz, Aleksander initially appointed Poles to govern in Volodymyr). Petrasz Turski came from the land of Łęczycza, to which

23 ПСРЛ. vol. 32: *Хроники: Литовская и Жмойтская, и Быховца. Летописи: Баркулабовская, Аверки и Панцырного*, ed. Владимир Улащик (Москва: Наука, 1975), 139: “A zatym korol polski Kazimir Łokietkowicz dowiedatsia, szto ich try braty Korjatowicz na Podolskoy zemli ludy silnyi, y on pryślał do kniazia Konstantyna gleytownyeie listy, z wielikoiu twerdostiu prosiaacz iecho, szto by k nemo pryiechał, a wymyslił toie sobi zo wsimi pany, szto ż w neho syna ne było, tolko odna doczka, chotiaczy za neho doczku daty, a po swoim żywote korolem osadyty.”

24 ПРСЛ, vol. 35, 66.

25 *Monumenta Poloniae Historica: Pomniki dziejowe Polski*, vol. 2, ed. August Bielowski (Lwów, 1872), 643–44: “Sed duce Alexandro filio Michaelis alias Coriathi, filiastro Olgerdi et ducum Litwaniae praedictorum, qui castra et terram Wladimiriensem rege Kazimiro commendata acceperat, in Cracovia existente, quidam Petrassius Thursky Lancicita, praefectus castris praedicti metu ductus, nobilissimum castrum Wladimiriense praedictum, nulla plaga recepta nec aliquibus penuriis defectuosus depressus, Litwanorum principibus praenominatis pudorose praesentavit.” There is the same episode in Jan Długosz’s *Annals: Ioannis Dlugosii, Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*, libri 10: 1370–1405, ed. Stanisław Gawęda, Zbigniew Perzanowski, and Danuta Turkowska (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985), 13.

he also owed his subsequent successful career, although with a different ruler, namely Władysław II Jagiełło.²⁶

It is safe to say that by the 1360s, at least Aleksander Koriatovych cooperated and served Casimir III, as proved by Aleksander's reign in Volodymyr in the 1360s and 1370s. However, there is no clear evidence that George Koriatovych became the king's vassal as well.

After Casimir III's death Aleksander became a co-ruler of Podillya, together with his brother George. The only document confirming that they ruled over Podillya jointly is the document by which Kamyanets gained its self-government in 1374.²⁷ After that, the lives of the two brothers evolved in different directions. George attempted to conquer lands on the other bank of the Dniester River, while Aleksander ruled over Podillya along with his younger brother Kostyantyn.

Started in the spring of 1374, the Moldavian campaign of George Koriatovych enabled Zdzisław Spieralski to suggest that George had been a vassal of Louis I of Hungary.²⁸ This enterprise might have been agreed with and supported by Vladislaus II of Opole, the appointed representative of the Hungarian and Polish king, who became one of the main officers in Ruthenia after 1372. George's attempt to gain the throne of Moldavia was his fatal error. Having seized the capital and the northern part of the principality, George was killed by his new subjects. This campaign, according to Vladislaus II of Opole's itinerary, was conducted without his participation, since Vladislaus arrived in Ruthenian lands only on September 9, 1374. Although he visited Buda on January 5, 1374, and was in the king's milieu,²⁹ he probably negotiated some plans relating to the Moldavian Principality, which was under the rule of the Hungarian Kingdom. The final comment on this topic concerns the question of whether Vladislaus II of Opole served as an intermediary between the king and the Koriatovyches. In all probability he did, as he certainly took on the function of a mediator due to the proximity of the Podolian Principality and the Ruthenian domain of the king, as well as the high position held by Vladislaus II of Opole in Hungarian society.

The merger of the Hungarian and Polish Kingdoms under the rule of Louis I of Hungary supposedly pushed the Koriatovyches to change their allegiance, which for them looked not like a change of ruler but, rather, a pledge to a different kingdom. During the 1370s the Koriatovyches probably became one of the Hungarian Kingdom's political tools helping to ensure that a vast range of the nearby territories were dependent on the kingdom. It was Podillya Principality under the Koriatovych brothers' rule that became one of the elements of such a policy.

26 *Urzednicy teczycy, sieradzcy i wielunscy XIII-XV wieku: Spisy*, ed. Janusz Bieniak and Alicja Szymczakowa (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1985), № 277, 300, 302, 400.

27 See more in Kurtyka, "Repertorium podolskie: Dokumenty do 1430 roku," № 9a, 325–27.

28 Zdzisław Spieralski, "W sprawie rzekomej wyprawy Kazimierza Wielkiego do Mołdawii," *Przegląd Historyczny* 52, no. 1 (1961), 150.

29 Sperka, *Władysław książę opolski*, 398.

The letter of Louis I of Hungary to Francesco da Carrara from Padua, written after the Ruthenian campaign (known, primarily, from the siege of Belz) on September 29, 1377, mentions that Aleksander and Borys, the rulers of Podillya at that time, had become the vassals of the Hungarian king. Oskar Halecki stressed the importance of the letter and published it in the footnote of his article on the genealogy notes of the Union of Krewo.³⁰

After the description of the 1377 campaign, the letter includes a fragment dedicated to a territory that was not involved in the military actions. The Hungarian king notes that the Podolian princes (*domini Alesander e Borris, duces Podolie*), along with their kingdom and eleven castles (*cum XI castris*), had become the vassals of the Hungarian Kingdom (*coronam regni Ungariae*). In the mid-1940s the Polish historian Henryk Łowmiański offered his own interpretation of the letter's fragment. The Koriatovyches initially gave their kingdom and eleven castles (*obtulerunt et asirguerent* [sic] *in manibus nostris ducatum Podolie cum XI castris*), and then they made a pledge to the kingdom and the king (*aplicuerunt coronam regni Ungarie*) and received Podillya as a fiefdom (*et receperunt in feudum a corona dicti regni*).³¹ Łowmiański's arguments are based on the meaning of the word *applicare*—"to attach to something"; in this context, it means that the Koriatovyches were attached, or became vassals. The historian emphasized that *applicare* was rarely used in the documents of that time. The wording was also used in the text of the Union of Krewo, signed on August 14, 1385. In his opinion, it means that Podillya Principality was incorporated into the Hungarian Kingdom.

According to such a scheme, Aleksander and Borys had no other choice but to become the vassals of Louis I of Hungary. Since the mid-1360s the Koriatovyches had been ambivalent to, and even separated from, the Gediminids after becoming the rulers of Podillya. As proof of this, the Koriatovyches stood aside from all the raids carried out by Kestutis, Liubartas, Jogaila, and Vytautas on the Ruthenian and Poland lands up until the death of Louis I of Hungary in 1382. Therefore, the king protected himself from attacks from the east, while the Koriatovyches proved themselves loyal to the new ruler.

Such a pattern of behaviour might have been linked with the conversion of the Koriatovyches to the Orthodox faith, at a time when the majority of the extensive family of Gediminas had still not been baptized. Another stimulus for accepting the supremacy of the Hungarian Kingdom might have been a promise to help with fighting against the Tatars; however, this theory is purely hypothetical.

It is possible to talk substantively about the influence of the West on, or the west-ernization of, Podillya or the Podolian Principality, as well as the Koriatovyches themselves. This trend came from the Ruthenian lands governed by Vladislaus II of Opole, who brought to the East new social practices and methods of territorial administration similar to those he knew from the Hungarian Kingdom, where he served as a palatine, and from Silesia, his native principality, centred on the city of Opole. Moreover, directly and indirectly, he brought a lot of Silesian and German knights to the new lands. Later,

³⁰ Halecki, "Przyczynki genealogiczne," 102–3n28. See Kurtyka, "Repertorium podolskie: Dokumenty do 1430 roku," № 14, 151–52.

³¹ Henryk Łowmiański, *Polityka Jagiellonów*, ed. Krzysztof Pietkiewicz (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu imienia Adama Mickiewicza, 1999), 58.

they all joined a local noble community.³² All these circumstances could have served as incentives for the Koriatovyches to cooperate with the prince equal to them in his status. By these means, the Christian princes, the rulers of Podillya and vassals of the Hungarian king, moved closer to Vladislaus II of Opole.

Unfortunately, there is no compelling evidence of Vladislaus's cooperation with the Koriatovyches in the 1370s and 1380s. In his work about the reign of Vladislaus II of Opole in Ruthenian lands between 1372 and 1378, Aleksy Gilewicz notes that there are some clues that prove that Vladislaus aided George Koriatovych in securing the throne of Moldavia. Nevertheless, he does not describe them.³³ Paweł Jusiak suggests quite a different pattern for the brothers becoming vassals. To him, it was the governor of the Ruthenian domain of the king who changed the vassalage of the Koriatovyches.³⁴ This theory is rather weak, since Louis I was the king of both the Hungarian and Polish Kingdoms, and the governor had no authority to make his own decision on such an important issue.

The documents demonstrating their joint activity in the Ruthenian domain of the king and Podillya Principality have not survived. Examining the events in the Moldavian Principality in the mid-1370s, Ilona Czamańska notes that, up until 1377, we have no data that the Koriatovyches swore allegiance to the Hungarian Kingdom.³⁵ But we can suggest that they did cooperate, because some witnesses of the Koriatovyches' documents are also listed in Vladislaus II of Opole's documents. For example, Rogozka from Yazlovets, a voivode of Smotrych, witnessed George Koriatovych's privilege to the Dominican monastery in Smotrych in 1375. In 1373 the same person had been listed as a witness of the document of Michał Awdaniec about his right to establish a Catholic parish in Buchach. In 1391 Rogozka witnessed that Fedir Koriatovych granted Sokilets to Hrynko.³⁶

The proactive policies of Vladislaus II of Opole to implement Louis's plans might have been an additional factor in the Koriatovyches choosing the latter as a new ruler. In 1377 the military campaign of Louis I of Hungary, when his armed forces seized Belz and Chełm, was a crucial moment in the strengthening of the Koriatovyches' status as the

32 Sperka, *Władysław książę opolski*, 103–18, 266–72, 338–76. See Jerzy Sperka, "Borschnitzowie na Rusi Czerwonej w XIV–XV wieku," in *Miasta, ludzie, instytucje, znaki: Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesor Bożenie Wyrozumskiej w 75 rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Zenon Piech (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2008), 247–72; and Jerzy Sperka, "Bibersteinowie na Rusi Czerwonej: Przyczynek do dziejów migracji rycerstwa śląskiego i polskiego w końcu XIV i pierwszej połowie XV w.," in *Studia Genealogiczne: Poświęcone pamięci profesora Włodzimierza Dworzaczka*, ed. Andrzej Sikorski and Tomasz Sławiński (Warszawa: PIOMAR, 2016), 29–39.

33 See Gilewicz, *Stanowisko i działalność*, 9.

34 Павел Юсяк, "Оточення князя Владислава Опольчика в період його правління на Русі (1372–1379)," *Вісник Львівського університету: Серія історична* 34 (1999), 83n15.

35 Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna*, 47. However, it does not mean that it could not happen until 1377.

36 Віталій Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота: Подільська шляхта в другій половині XIV—70-х роках XVI століття* (Київ: Темпора, 2012), 45.

rulers of the Podolian Principality and vassals of the Hungarian Kingdom and its ruler.³⁷ It is possible that the princes took part in this campaign; however, there are no sources that prove this.

Along with the Koriatovyches, the prince of Volhynia, Liubartas, also pledged his allegiance to Louis I of Hungary. However, unlike the Koriatovyches, he took an oath to the Kingdom of Poland.³⁸

After the death of Louis I of Hungary, in 1383, the Koriatovyches (Borys and Kostyantyn), according to the chronicle by Jan of Czarnków, for the first time since the 1363 campaign of Casimir intervened in their family affairs in relation to another division of the region into different spheres of influence. The Koriatovyches supported Liubartas and, probably, Jurgis Narimantaitis. Their help consisted of conquering a number of Ruthenian lands of Volhynia, namely Kremyanets, Olesk, Peremyl, Horodlo, Lopatyn, and Snyatyn in Pokuttia.³⁹ In this way, they attempted to implement their tactical—or even strategic—plans to take control of Snyatyn and, probably, Kolomyia, since their interests in this region foresaw taking control over trade routes from the east. In this case, they most likely focused on the fragment of *via valachica* that crossed the Principality of Moldavia.

Regarding Snyatyn in this list, I can suggest that it was important not for Liubartas but for the Koriatovych brothers, because they understood the strategic importance of the city on the border of Bukovyna and Pokuttia. Jan Tęgowski suggests that the Koriatovyches lost the city during the campaign of Louis I in 1377, although this theory is only weakly corroborated from the sources.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, due to their family ties with the Moldavian Prince Petru II, the Koriatovyches might have had a claim to Snyatyn. But for whom were they doing it? If they were doing it for themselves, they would have understood how difficult it would be to control Snyatyn because of its distance from Kamyanets and Smotrych, even though the city was a key to eastern trade in the region. If for Petru II, who was aiming to take the throne of Moldavia and for whom the region was of strategic importance, due to his repeated manoeuvring and searching for a protector, then they did it to support their relative, a brother-in-law. In any event, one should keep in mind that the Dniester River was a significant geographical barrier that clearly delineated Podillya's border with Moldavia.

The events of 1383, to my mind, can explain the attempts by George Koriatovych to take control of the Moldavian Principality in 1374. Control over the two trade routes would make one or both of the Koriatovyches the main mediators in the eastern trade.

37 Engel Pal, *Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, trans. Tamás Pálosfalvi (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 168.

38 Jan Tęgowski, "O następstwie tronu na Litwie po śmierci Olgierda," *Przegląd Historyczny* 84, no. 2 (1993), 128–29.

39 Jan Tęgowski, "Wydarzenia na Rusi w drugiej połowie 1382 r.," in *Cracovia—Polonia—Europa: Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrozumskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. Waldemar Bukowski (Kraków: Secesja, 1995), 302.

40 Tęgowski, "Wydarzenia na Rusi," 302.

Since the *via valachica* did not run through the steppe, it was more comfortable and safer; therefore, taking control over one of its elements was a matter of high priority for rulers who tried to establish their power in that region. The following events, which resulted in Gediminas's rule in the Kingdom of Poland, became obstacles in the implementation of the Koriatovyches' plans to conquer the northern part of Moldavia and Pokuttya.

The year 1385—again, like two years earlier—forced Borys Koriatovych to side with the Gediminas in electing the grand duke of Lithuania, Jogaila, to be the king of Poland. In January Skirgaila, Jogaila's brother, and the princes Borys Koriatovych and Algimantas arrived in Kraków as part of the delegation to ask for the Polish Queen Jadwiga's hand, Louis I's younger daughter. After successful negotiations, Borys Koriatovych, together with Hanul (Ganul, Hans), starosta of Vilnius, moved to Buda to ask Queen Elizabeth to confirm these intentions.⁴¹

Borys Koriatovych's participation in the embassy to the Hungarian Kingdom was likely used to make the mission welcome in the court in Buda. It appears that the meeting was also significant for Borys to confirm his older oath of 1377 to the Hungarian Kingdom. More likely, perhaps, he had to swear Queen Elizabeth a new oath. This suggestion explains the absence of the Koriatovyches' oath to Władysław II Jagiełło after his ascension to the throne of Poland.

Were the Koriatovyches active participants in the preparation of the union of the two states, which took place in Krewo on August 15, 1385? Probably they were, indeed, given the active role played by Borys.⁴² But why did they do it? Given their continuing status as vassals of the Hungarian Kingdom, Władysław II Jagiełło might have questioned their loyalty to him. The subsequent events demonstrated that the new king endeavoured to incorporate some parts of the Ruthenian lands into the Kingdom of Poland, namely Sanok, Peremyshl, Lviv, Halych, Chełm, and western Podillya. Therefore, the status of the Koriatovyches (along with Podillya Principality) as Hungarian vassals, and the territory under the influence of the Hungarian Crown, respectively, remained unchanged. However, it would lead to far-reaching changes, of which Vytautas, Władysław's cousin, would take advantage.

Continuing to serve as the grand duke of Lithuania, Jogaila, who took the name of Władysław II after 1386, began to incorporate some parts of the Ruthenian lands into the Polish Crown. He, of course, started with the Ruthenian domain of the king. The privilege to Peremyshl given by Jadwiga on February 18, 1387, was the first of such documents.⁴³ Then Władysław amalgamated Lviv and its lands in a dual way through the act signed by October 1, 1389. First, he added the Lviv territory to his and Jadwiga's, and their heirs', possessions (that is, to his domain), and later to the Kingdom of Poland in general. At the same time, it was forbidden to grant Lviv lands to anybody from the cohorts of princes or

41 Waldemar Bukowski, "Salomonowie herbu Łabędź: Ze studiów nad patrycjatem krakowskim wieków średnich," in *Cracovia—Polonia—Europa*, 116.

42 Łowmiański, *Polityka Jagiellonów*, 28, 42, 58.

43 AGZ, vol. 7, № 19, 36–37.

any other noblemen.⁴⁴ The second document issued by Władysław II Jagiełło in 1389⁴⁵ was to prevent Vladislaus II of Opole governing over this territory. Did he prepare the incorporation of Podillya Principality in the same way into his Ruthenian domain? It is difficult to answer this question, due to the lack of source material; however, six years later this was carried out using quite a specific approach (see [Chapter 6](#)), which confirms that the king had planned it earlier.

Jan Długosz describes these events in his annals. Headed by Jadwiga in 1387 (Jan Długosz dates it wrongly as 1390), the military campaign did not affect Podillya directly, but Hungarian and Silesian starostas (... *omnibus Hungaris atque Slezitis* ...) lost castles in Peremyshl, Jarosław, Gorodok, Halych, Terebovlya, and Lviv (High Castle), and other Ruthenian castles (*Sub brevi autem tempore castrum Przemisl, Iaroslawa, Grodek, Halicz, Trebowlya, civitatem Leopolim et castrum in monte, et omnia alia Russie castra* ...).⁴⁶ It has been challenging to identify the accuracy of this list, yet the mention of Terebovlya is particularly revealing. This city would be separated from Podillya through the privilege to Spytek and added to the Ruthenian domain five years later. In Spytek's privilege, dated 1395, Terebovlya and Stinka, along with their counties, were described as territories that had belonged to Ruthenian lands for a long time (!), since the reign of Casimir III the Great and Vladislaus II of Opole.⁴⁷

It is worth noting that starostas were still the people coming from Hungary and Silesia, which means that the conquering of the vast eastern region was long-lasting and complicated. These starostas were likely to swear allegiance to Vladislaus II of Opole, and therefore he maintained his status as an important actor in the region. The only individual mentioned by Długosz is a Hungarian knight, Babak (*milite Hungariae Babak*), who seems to be a Ruthenian starosta, Bebek, serving from 1383 to 1385.⁴⁸

Since the coronation of Jogaila, and by the first half of the 1390s, most of the princes (*kniazi*)—members of the Gediminas dynasty as well as other branches of the Rurikids, although we know, unfortunately, almost nothing about them due to the lack of sources from the end of the thirteenth century to the first half of the fourteenth—had sworn allegiance to Władysław II Jagiełło and Jadwiga, as well as to the Kingdom of Poland.⁴⁹ In the context of Podolian history, no documents confirm the oaths of the Koriatovyches, and—tellingly—they are not listed as witnesses either. The lack of documents and oaths might serve as proof of their unwillingness to swear to Władysław or Jadwiga, as well as of staying true to their oath to the Hungarian Kingdom, which had lasted since

⁴⁴ AGZ, vol. 3 (Lwów, 1872), № 50, 84–85.

⁴⁵ AGZ, vol. 2 (Lwów, 1870), № 17, 29.

⁴⁶ Długosii, *Annales*, liber 10: 1370–1405, 182.

⁴⁷ CV, № 115, 39.

⁴⁸ *Urzednicy województwa ruskiego XIV–XVIII wieku: Spisy*, ed. Kazimierz Przyboś (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1987), № 1152, 149.

⁴⁹ *Akta unji Polski z Liwtą 1385–1791*, ed. Stanisław Kutrzeba and Władysław Semkowicz (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1932), № 7, 6; № 8, 6; № 9, 7; № 16, 12–13; № 17, 13–14; № 19, 16; № 20, 17–18; № 21, 18–19; № 22, 19–20; № 23, 20–21; № 24, 21–22; № 25, 22–23; № 33, 30.

1377. The process of taking an oath, with its purpose to connect the rulers of *udels* and Władysław II Jagiełło along with the Kingdom of Poland, was complicated, since some of the princes had to take an oath several times.⁵⁰

The Koriatovych brothers (Borys and Fedir at that time) did not take an oath to the king, or queen, or the Kingdom of Poland; nobody from their family vouched for them either (as Anna, Vytautas's wife, and other princes had done before).⁵¹ And this confirms the suggestion that they maintained their loyalty to the Hungarian Kingdom. The pro-Hungarian position of the rulers of Podillya sealed the fate of the region and the Koriatovyches in 1394: a military campaign led by Vytautas, who had earlier acquired governance over the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, resulted in the subordination of part of this area to the power of the king.⁵²

Vytautas's expectations about gaining the whole of Podillya were not met. The king decided to divide the principality into three parts: Stinka, with its neighbourhood, became a part of the Halych land; western Podillya, with its main castles, were given to Spytek of Melsztyn (see [Chapter 6](#)); while the eastern part went to Vytautas. His participation in the military campaign points to a suggestion overlooked by historians. It appears that Vytautas wanted to conquer those trade routes that had been under the control of the Koriatovyches a few decades earlier. Another argument is that this spacious region on the left bank of the Dniester River bordered with the Moldavian Principality, where Stephen I of Moldavia, who was married to Vytautas's sister Ringala, reigned from 1394 to 1399.⁵³ Thus, the family ties of the Gediminas dynasty influenced the intention of the ruler to fight for the region. And the Moldavian Principality, controlling a large portion of the trade routes in the region, played a significant role in this respect.

In the autumn of 1394 Władysław II Jagiełło controlled Kamyanets and other important castles in Podillya as a result of the military campaign with the direct participation of Vytautas. It is quite possible that the removal of Fedir Koriatovych was aimed at supporting a new relative of Vytautas, Stephen I of Moldavia, in his attempt to gain the throne. Stephen's competitor and a preceding ruler of Moldavia, Roman, a relative of the Podolian princes, had been loyal to the Koriatovyches until his death, and his troops fought in Podillya in the campaign of 1394.⁵⁴

Having lost Podillya Principality, Fedir Koriatovych, together with his brother Vasyl, fled to Stephen I, the Moldavian prince. The latter sheltered Fedir and his inner circle

50 Jarosław Nikodem, *Witold wielki książę litewski (1354 lub 1355—27 października 1430)* (Kraków: Avalon, 2013), 154–66; Сергей Полевых, "Литовская Русь в XV в.: единая или разделенная? (На материалах конфликтов между русскими землями Великого княжества Литовского и государственным центром)," in *Древняя Русь после Древней Руси: дискурс восточнославянского (не)единства*, ed. Андрей Доронин (Москва: Политическая энциклопедия, 2017), 72–77.

51 *Akta unji*, № 30–31, 27–29; № 32, 29–30.

52 Nikodem, *Witold*, 164–65.

53 Jan Tęgowski, "Powiązania genealogiczne wojewodów mołdawskich Bogdanowiczów z domem Giedyminowiczów w XIV–XV wieku," *Genealogia* 3 (1993), 50–57.

54 Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna*, 57.

on the territory of his principality, although by doing so he put himself in conflict with Władysław II Jagiełło, since the Moldavian Principality had been a vassal of the Kingdom of Poland from 1387. This also led to a worsening of his relations with the Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxemburg⁵⁵ and might have caused Vytautas to be upset, at the least. The Koriatovyches then appeared in Carpathian Ruthenia, a distant and foreign land for them, where Fedir obtained the city of Mukachevo and Bereg County (*comitatus*) from the Hungarian king.⁵⁶ This demonstrates that the Koriatovyches' allegiance to the Hungarian Kingdom lasted well after the death of the Polish King Casimir III the Great. Here, an old unwritten rule prevails: a good lord has to protect his loyal vassal.

Another important factor, stressed by Jan Tęgowski, was not only the vassal relationship of the Koriatovyches with the Kingdom of Hungary but also their family ties. First of all, Tęgowski refers to the wife of Prince Fedir. Fedir married Valga (Valkha), the daughter of Dragos, the voivode of Maramaros, in the 1390s.⁵⁷ It is difficult to be sure whether it was his first marriage or not. Fedir might have been married to an unknown person while staying in Podillya. Another family tie linking him to Sigismund of Luxemburg was that the Hungarian king's great-grandmother, Aldona (Casimir III's first wife), was a sister of Koriat (Fedir's father), which enabled a Hungarian king to call Prince Fedir an uncle (Latin: *avunculus*) politely.⁵⁸

Perhaps some of the Koriatovyches' milieu left Podillya together with Fedir and Vasyl. However, mention of 20,000 people from Podillya arriving in Carpathian Ruthenia with Fedir seems fictitious. It could be productive to verify the individuals in the milieu of the Moldavian princes in the first half of the fifteenth century, since the exiled people of Podillya Principality might have settled there expecting to return home in a short time. In October 1407 one of Prince Alexander the Good's documents lists as a witness a person named Hrynko.⁵⁹ Most likely, he is the same Hrynko from Sokilets, one of the Koriatovyches' companions in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.⁶⁰ Those who chose to live in exile with their prince should be listed among the noblemen of the Moldavian Principality and the milieu of Fedir in Carpathian Ruthenia.

In the context of the Podolian exiles' residence in the Moldavian Principality, the visit of Spytek of Melsztyn to Suceava, known due to a *gleit* (a safety charter) dated January 3, 1397, becomes logical.⁶¹ Most likely, he was tasked not with returning the Koriatovyches

55 Ibid., 62.

56 Алексей Петров, "О подложности грамоты князя Феодора Кориатовича 1360 г.," in *Материалы для истории Угорской Руси*, vol. 3 (Санкт-Петербург, 1906), 3–5.

57 Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenie*, 186.

58 Ibid., 185n855. Here is a quotation from Joann Mihaluj: "*Illustris principis domini Theodori ducis Podolie, avunculi nostri carissimi et fidelis ...*"

59 *Материалы для истории взаимных отношений России, Польши, Молдавии, Валахии и Турции*, ed. Владимир Уляницкий (Москва, 1887), № 19, 16.

60 Груша, "Невядомая грамота Фёдора Карыатовича за 1391 г.," 123–35; Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота*, 43.

61 CV, № 136, 43.

but obtaining a documented waiver of their Podolian possessions, which would be signed off only in 1403.

Concerning this waiver, there are two documents. The first document, signed on July 1, 1403, and presented in Hrubieszów, testifies that Prince Vasyl Koriatovych took an oath to Władysław II Jagiełło and promised never to oppose him or the Kingdom of Poland. In the second document, dated July 9 and concluded in Szczekarzew, Fedir Koriatovych states that he forgave the king for his imprisonment (it might have occurred after the siege of Kamyanets in 1394) and declares his friendship.⁶² Prince Fedir swears allegiance to the queen and promises neither to oppose the king, or the queen, or the Kingdom of Poland, or its noblemen or boyars (*contra eius dominos et bayaros terrigenasque*), nor demand to regain Podillya.⁶³ Then Fedir was likely to go to Suceava, where he witnessed the document of Prince Alexandr the Good issued to a Moldavian noble.⁶⁴

Władysław II Jagiełło, therefore, after eight years of attempts, managed to make the Koriatovyches pledge fealty to him and forced them to refuse their claims, in written form, to Podillya, which was under his rule at that time (see [Chapter 7](#)).

What was the position of the Hungarian king in Podillya and all the Ruthenian lands within the Kingdom of Poland? It was perhaps based on the treaty of 1350 between Louis I of Hungary and Casimir III the Great on the inheritance of the Polish throne, in case of Casimir's death and the absence of male descendants. According to the treaty, the territory of the Ruthenian lands became the king's own property.⁶⁵ Such an interpretation of the legal basis can be illustrated by the treaty between Sigismund of Luxemburg, Władysław II Jagiełło, and Vytautas, issued on June 14, 1397 in Spiš. As a result, the Ruthenian lands turned into Władysław's lifetime possessions. In return, he was supposed to help Sigismund to establish his supremacy over Moldavia and—what is more important to us—renounce Podillya (*terramque Podolie dominio et ditioni nostre realiter resignavit*).⁶⁶ The disavowal of Podillya, in turn, did not align with Władysław's plans for the Ruthenian lands and Podillya, as well as the Moldavian Principality. Although the stipulations of the treaty with regard to Podillya have never been implemented, Sigismund had a strong case for supremacy over this territory at his disposal at least until 1403, when Prince Fedir and his brother waived Podillya.

In the end, even though the Hungarian king did not help his Podolian vassal in the autumn of 1394, he tried to counteract the consequences of the campaign and supported the Koriatovyches. However, the issue of Podillya appeared again in a new treaty (issued

⁶² Tęgowski, "Sprawa przyłączenia Podola," 174, 173.

⁶³ Ibid., 173. See regests: Kurtyka, "Repertorium podolskie: Dokumenty do 1430 roku," № 58.

⁶⁴ *Documenta Romaniae historica: A. Moldova*, vol. 1: 1384–1448, ed. Constantin Cihodaru, Ioan Caproșu, and Leon Șimanschi (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1975), № 18, 26.

⁶⁵ Janusz Kurtyka, *Odrodzone królestwo: Monarchia Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego w świetle nowszych badań* (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2001), 44.

⁶⁶ Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna*, 61–62n165. There is a quote from the treaty, which Czamańska analyzes.

after a conflict between the Polish and Hungarian Kingdoms, in which Sigismund of Luxemburg sided with the Teutonic Order against Władysław) between the same persons (Sigismund, Władysław, and Vytautas) only in 1412. Podillya seemed to be too far from the centre of the Hungarian Kingdom, and it was unreasonable to provoke a new conflict with Władysław II Jagiełło over land that was not high on the agenda of the Hungarian Kingdom. At that time, the Hungarians did not have the capacity to hold Podillya, which they had been dealing with since the reign of Louis I of Hungary. Having lost the Moldavian Principality in 1387, the rulers of the Hungarian Kingdom completely stopped being interested in this distant land.

What did happen to Fedir after the described events? Being a loyal vassal of the Hungarian king, Fedir Koriatovych mobilized 250 cavalrymen (*Item dominus dux Theodorus ad lanceas CCL*) to the king's army. This unit was supposed to be placed in Maramaros.⁶⁷ It appears that Fedir had a high capability for mobilization on the land given to him by Sigismund of Luxemburg at the end of the fourteenth century. The last sign of Fedir's activity was a campaign in January 1411, in which he participated with the largest military unit of 200 cavalrymen. According to the registry of the Hungarian army of that time, Sigismund of Luxemburg managed to gather 1,100 cavalrymen. The unit of Fedir Koriatovych amounted to 18 percent of the cavalry.⁶⁸ His military activity demonstrates that he might have broken the treaty that prevented him from opposing the Polish king. This is, to date, the last documented record about Prince Fedir.

It could be the end of the story about the Koriatovyches' vassalage to Western rulers, the Polish and Hungarian kings. It fits the tradition for the European system of vassalage in which the weaker rulers seek protection from the more powerful ones to hold power over their inherited or newly acquired lands. In Podillya, the situation was more complicated due to its history and the foundation of the principality under the Koriatovyches. The Westernization of Podillya was not rapid and smooth. The former rulers of the region, the Tatars, did not disappear; they kept influencing the life of the region. Having left the forest/steppe zone between the Dniester, Southern Bug, and Dnieper Rivers, the Tatars retained the right to receive tribute from Podillya.

Records of paying tribute are documented in several sources originating in the Koriatovyches' chancellery from the 1370s to the 1390s. One of the newly discovered documents is a privilege signed by Fedir in 1392 for Pashko Vasnovych. The document includes a record of paying tribute: "And also since all the nobles have to pay tribute to Tatars, the Pashko's men have to pay as well."⁶⁹ A similar statement of a tribute for Tatars can be seen in the privilege for Nemyrya signed in 1388: "And also since all the nobles

⁶⁷ Stanisław A. Sroka, "Wojska węgierskie u granic Polski w 1410 roku," *Studia Historyczne* 53, no. 3 (2010), 338, 343.

⁶⁸ Sobiesław Szybkowski, "Konflikt polsko-węgierski 1410–1411," in *Wojna Polski i Litwy*, ed. Sławomir Józwiak, Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, Adam Szveda, and Sobiesław Szybkowski, 665–66.

⁶⁹ Мікульські, "Новая грамота князя Фёдора Кориатовича 1392 г.," 149: "А также што коли мають вси земане дань давати в татары, тоє мають дати Пашковы люди."

have to pay tribute to Tatars in silver; the Nemyrya's men have to pay in silver as well."⁷⁰ Here the description of the tribute has one interesting detail: it was supposed to be paid in silver. A similar form of payment is recorded in Aleksandr Koriatovych's privilege to Dominican monks for Smotrych dated 1375: "When all the nobles pay tribute to Tatars in silver, these people also have to give the same."⁷¹

The records of tribute paid in the 1390s enable us to suggest that the agreements with former rulers, who had the rights to this region, were still valued and respected at that time. These agreements included a specific form of cooperation: one side allowed the other side to rule over a vast land on the right bank of the Dniester River and regularly receive a certain sum of money (a tribute) for it.

During their reign over Podillya, the Koriatovyches went from independent governance over the region to become the vassals of the Polish King Casimir III the Great. In the beginning they, most likely, collaborated with Tatar supervisors of the area and governed following the southwest policies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the case of Aleksander, cooperation with the Polish king was not necessarily tied to the territory of Podillya. They also collaborated with a successor of Louis I of Hungary who provided shelter to Prince Fedir Koriatovych in Carpathian Ruthenia. The involvement of the Koriatovyches in Moldavian affairs turned out to be fatal for George Koriatovych in 1374. In 1387 the Moldavian Principality became a vassal state of the Kingdom of Poland. Although these events are not connected to each other, each of the starostas, the Podolian governors appointed by the Polish kings in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was involved in the affairs on the other side of the Dniester River and took an oath from the rulers of Moldavia on behalf of the Polish king.

The peak of the Koriatovych brothers' political and military activity fell in the period after the death of Louis I of Hungary, when they tried to conquer Pokuttya and, at the same time, to gain control over the eastern trade routes in the region. They also actively participated in the engagement of their cousin, the Great Duke of Lithuania Jogaila, to Queen Jadwiga. Their loyalty to the Hungarian Kingdom (no later than 1377) led to their losing Podillya Principality in late 1394, which Princes Fedir and Vasyl, the last rulers of Podillya, renounced only in 1403.

The Koriatovyches' need of protection and their choice of the Polish king as their lord in the 1350s and 1360s resulted in the integration of Podillya into the sphere of interest of the Polish Kingdom. After the long-lasting conflict over Podillya, in which almost all the rulers of Central/Eastern Europe were involved, this region was amalgamated into the king's domain, and then western Podillya was incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland.

⁷⁰ Tęgowski, "Sprawa przyłączenia Podola," 170: "[A] także štoż koli vsi zemljane imut davaty dan' u Tatory to srebro imjut daty Nemyryny lude ..."

⁷¹ Розов, *Українські грамоти*, № 10, 20: "Коли вси землане имуть давати дань оу татары то сребро имеют также тии люди дати."

However, this beautiful and well-Westernized story has one eastern trace notable enough to be concealed: a tribute to the Tatars that needed to be paid in silver. The decline of the Golden Horde led to the disappearance of this factor from the history of Podillya. However, the Crimean Khanate, which emerged in the middle of the fourteenth century, was thought to be the successor of the Steppe Empire, and therefore the tribute payments moved from the local level to a state one. It became one of the main problems for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The rest of Podolian history is marked with a long rivalry, spread over thirty years, between the Polish King Władysław II Jagiełło and his cousin Vytautas. It was the endowment of western Podillya for the voivode of Kraków and starosta Spytek of Melsztyn that initiated the rivalry, which the Polish king won because he lived longer than his competitor did.

Chapter 6

SPYTEK OF MELSZTYN: THE NEW “PRINCE” FROM KRAKÓW

COULD A MEMBER of the Gediminas dynasty have been the new ruler of the Podolian Principality after the dethronement of the Koriatovych brothers in 1394? There was such a possibility, at least of Vytautas, carrying out the will of Władysław II Jagiełło in this case, and the first candidate to be Podillya's ruler did not hide his intent to get this office. But the king did not intend to transfer Podillya to Vytautas. Instead, he preferred to keep it as his property. To my mind, his first interests focused on the trade routes. This suggestion stems from the partition of Podillya in 1395, when Stinka and Terebovlya Counties, as stipulated in the king's will, were incorporated into the king's Ruthenian domain. Vytautas obtained the largest part of Podillya, so-called eastern Podillya, which remained the least inhabited and the most dangerous territory among the whole Ukrainian lands. But what did happen to the other part of Podillya, where the main cities of the principality, such as Kamyanets, Smotrych, and Bakota, were situated? According to the king's will, they were granted to Spytek of Melsztyn of the Leliwa family, a starosta and the voivode of Kraków.

The arrival of the nobleman from Lesser Poland aligned with those practices implemented in the Ruthenian lands for the last half a century, like the lands incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland after 1340, to which starostas came from Lesser Poland. The only exception was that, in the Polish Kingdom, these officials had never replaced the princes of the Gediminas dynasty. Podillya, therefore, became the first region where this took place. The Podolian activity of Spytek of Melsztyn is another issue worth considering, even though it is underrepresented in the sources. Who came with Spytek to administer Podillya? How did these newcomers influence the life of Podillya? A routine affair, at first glance, turns out to be a complicated one, if we consider the subsequent events and those debates that boiled in the circles of Podolian noblemen between 1411 and 1418.

The life of Spytek of Melsztyn comes up as a subject of historical research quite often. The Polish historian Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, who dedicated a chapter to Spytek in his monograph on the Leliwas from Lesser Poland, has written the most complete biography of Spytek so far.¹ My study will examine the last four years of Spytek's life, which are linked to Podillya. Ironically, he was appointed the ruler of Podillya thanks to Vytautas, who thought to take this land under his own control after the ousting of the Koriatovyches from Podillya. Having joined Vytautas's crusade against the Tatars,

¹ Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy: Z dziejów możnowładztwa Małopolskiego wiek XIV-XV* (Warszawa: Pax, 1971), 99–138; Anna Strzelecka, “Melsztyński Spytek (Spytek z Melsztyna) h. Leliwa (zm. 1399),” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 20 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1975), 412–15.

Spytek also died because of the grand duke of Lithuania, in the Battle of the Vorskla River in 1399.

Ukrainian and Polish historians have never neglected Spytek of Melsztyn, because his rule in Podillya was associated with his extraordinary rights and powers. In the nineteenth century Nikandr Molchanovsky, Antoni Prochaska, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, and other historians studying the region's history wrote about him as the ruler of western Podillya.² In his study on the noblemen of Lesser Poland, Piotr Węcowski pays attention to Spytek³ and researches the itinerary of the voivode of Kraków.⁴ Research by Jacek Laberschek dedicated to Spytek's genealogy and estate is one of the most notable recent works on the issue.⁵

The astonishing career of Spytek, the son of Jan from Melsztyn and Zofia (Ofka, probably from Książ), was not an ordinary one. His father Jan, the son of Spytek of Tarnow, was the chief hunter of Kraków (1339–1344), the castellan of Wojnicz (1345–1360), and the voivode of Sandomierz (1361–1366). The highest point of his career was the position of castellan of Kraków (1366–1380), one of the most senior-ranking official positions in the Kingdom of Poland.⁶ Spytek of Melsztyn, therefore, had a very favourable starting point for his own career.

On July 3, 1381, King Louis I of Hungary appointed Spytek the voivode of Kraków.⁷ The appointment was likely made in response to someone's patronage and strengthened by his father's service and the Leliwas' position among the noblemen of Lesser Poland. Włodzimierz Dworzaczek refers to a short description by Jan Długosz in his annals (the year of 1383): when he was nominated, Spytek had not reached the age of eighteen years and was inexperienced.⁸ Holding such a high-ranked position in the Kingdom of Poland at that time, when the voivode of Kraków was a member of the king's court, enabled

2 Antoni Prochaska, *Podole lennym korony: 1352–1430* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1895), 5–11; Молчановский, *Очерк известий*, 236–58; Михайло Грушевський, *Барське староство: Історичні нариси (XV–XVIII ст.)* (Львів, 1996), 21–23; Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси*, vol. 4, 174–77; Kurtyka, *Podole pomiędzy*, 29–31.

3 Piotr Węcowski, *Działalność publiczna możnowładztwa małopolskiego w późnym średniowieczu* (Warszawa: DiG, 1998), 95, 99, 116–17.

4 Ibid., 172–79.

5 Jacek Laberschek, "Melsztyński klucz majątkowy od połowy XIV do połowy XVI wieku," in *Fontes et historia: Prace dedykowane Antoniemu Gąsiorowskiemu*, ed. Tomasz Jurek and Izabela Skierska (Warszawa, 2007), 117–143; Jacek Laberschek, "Uwagi i uzupełnienia do genealogii Melsztyńskich herbu Leliwa," *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne* 2, no. 6 (2010), 189–90; [Jacek] L[aberschek], "Melsztyn," in *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu*, vol. 4, zes. 2, ed. Waldemar Bukowski (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2009), 209–68.

6 Bożena Wyrozumska, "Melsztyński Jan (Jasiek z Tarnowa, Melsztyna, Książa), h. Leliwa (zm. ok. 1380)," in *PSB*, vol. 20, 410–11; Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, *Genealogia: Tablice* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1959), table 97; Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy*, table 1, 301.

7 *Urzędnicy małopolscy*, № 466, 128.

8 Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy*, 99–100.

Spytek to enter the inner circle of the king. After that, this would play a decisive role in the choice of Jadwiga as the queen and her marriage to Jogaila, the grand duke of Lithuania.

In his further career, Spytek became not only the “master” of Kraków, the capital city of the Kingdom of Poland, but also one of the most powerful noblemen at that time. In 1390 he became the starosta of Kraków.⁹ Given the position of the Leliwa in the kingdom, we can look at it in a different light. Spytek’s cousin, Jan of Tarnów (their fathers, Jan and Rafał, were siblings), held the office of the voivode of Sandomierz (1385–1401).¹⁰ It demonstrates that Spytek occupied one of the main places—or even the first—among the nobility of Lesser Poland.

Spytek was married to Elżbieta, the courtier of Queen Jadwiga.¹¹ She was the daughter of Emeryk Lackfi, a Ruthenian starosta from 1383 to 1385¹² and the only person mentioned by Jan Długosz (*milite Hungariae Babak*) in the description of Jadwiga’s expedition into Ruthenian lands in 1387.¹³ The marriage of Spytek and Elżbieta took place in the royal court,¹⁴ and yielded Spytek Queen Jadwiga’s favours.

The strengthening of Spytek’s position at the court was related to Jadwiga’s marriage and the process of choosing a husband for her. In this affair, Spytek of Melsztyn played a critical role, as demonstrated by the participation of the Leliwa in the preparation of the marriage of Jadwiga to Jogaila in 1386. As evidence, Włodzimierz Dworzaczek refers to the following: the honour of being Jagiełło’s godmother was given to Jadwiga of Pilcza, the widow of Otton of Pilcza (a Ruthenian starosta appointed by Casimir III the Great).¹⁵ She was chosen not because of her husband’s service but thanks to the strong position of Spytek’s brother, who was in favour of the forthcoming union and putting Duke Jogaila on the throne.

While giving gifts after the coronation, Władysław II Jagiełło singled out Spytek of Melsztyn, according to Jan Długosz: king’s sandals (*donationis usus, sandalia illi sua*)

⁹ *Urzednicy małopolscy*, № 1284, 286.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, № 980, 226.

¹¹ Debates of historians concerning the wife of Spytek are summarized by Anna Strzelecka in Spytek’s biography in the *Polish Biographical Dictionary* in 1975: Strzelecka, “Melsztyński Spytek,” 414. Jacek Laberschek accepts this version as well: Laberschek, “Uwagi i uzupełnienia,” 190.

¹² *Urzednicy województwa ruskiego*, 149. Kazimierz Przyboś mistakenly indicates the sixth volume of *Aktów grodzkich i ziemskich* instead of the seventh. Emeryk’s title in the document dated May 8, 1385, is written as *Regni Russiae capitaneus* (starosta of the Kingdom of Ruthenia): AGZ, vol. 7, № 16, 32. However, in the document issued on November 1, 1385, his title is designated as the governor of the Hungarian Queen Maria, a Ruthenian starosta (*Russiae Capitaneus*): see *ibid.*, № 18, 35.

¹³ Jan Długosz wrote the year 1390 by mistake: Długosii, *Annales*, libri 10: 1370–1405, 182.

¹⁴ Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy*, 118; Węcowski, *Działalność publiczna*, 117.

¹⁵ Otton of Pilcza from Łańcut (?–1384)—starosta general of Greater Poland (1371–1372), castellan of Wiślica (1373–1374), voivode of Sandomierz (1376–1384), starosta of Sandomierz (1376–1383): *Urzednicy małopolscy XII–XV wieku*, 355. He was the starosta of Ruthenia several times during the reign of Casimir III the Great: *Urzednicy województwa ruskiego*, № 1149a, № 1151, kom. to № 1152.

and large quantities of gold, pearls, and gems (*gemmis, auro, margaritis, unionibus et lapidibus preciosis superba donat*) were bestowed upon him. Jagiełło owed him his enthronement and coronation.¹⁶ The fact that Jan Długosz stressed this moment many years later, when nobody in Kraków remembered the events of the mid-1380s, implies a leading role for the young voivode of Kraków in those events.

Another illustration of Spytek's remarkable position even after his death is that the third wife of Władysław II Jagiełło was Elżbieta Granowska, the daughter of his godmother Jadwiga and, respectively, Spytek's niece.¹⁷ Looking back at this marriage, I cannot say whether it was a coincidence or a mishap. The king's third marriage—and the fourth for Elżbieta, who was about forty-seven or forty-eight years old in 1417—was an exception, because the king got married not only to his subject but also to his godmother's daughter.

Among the aristocracy of that time, Spytek of Melsztyn played a vital role in the political life of the kingdom. Using modern terminology, Jerzy Sperka calls him the first favourite of Władysław II Jagiełło, arguing that Spytek was granted large estates from the king and had his own patronage and influence in the court.¹⁸ The presence of Spytek as a witness on the royal documents justifies this statement. According to the calculations made by Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, Spytek signed eighty-six times as a witness, which averages at 6.7 times per year over thirteen years (1386–1398 inclusive). Given the preservation of the sources of the second half of the fourteenth century, this is one of the highest numbers during the reign of Władysław II Jagiełło.¹⁹

In the historiography, there are several points of view on the influence of the voivode of Kraków at the court. The majority of discussions address the struggle for influence in the king's court. In the tenth year of his reign Władysław II Jagiełło seemed to make a bet on the Leliwas, and, first of all, on Spytek, whose career in government had reached its peak. Therefore, the only way to reward him was with assignments of land in return for his active participation in almost all the important affairs of the kingdom. This practice of land granting, especially of whole administrative/territorial units, was not something new for Spytek. He had been handed the land around Biecz in Kraków voivodeship by Queen Jadwiga for a deposit of 1,500 hryvnias.²⁰ Podillya was granted to him for the

¹⁶ Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy*, 105.

¹⁷ Zygmunt Wdowiszewski, *Genealogia Jagiellonów i domu Wazów w Polsce* (Kraków: Avalon, 2005), 69–74; Olga Miriam Przybyłowicz, "Elżbieta Granowska: trzecia żona Władysława Jagiełły: Życie codzienne królowej," *Kwartalnik historii kultury materialnej* 45, no. 1 (1997).

¹⁸ Jerzy Sperka, "Faworyci Władysława Jagiełły," in *Faworyci i opozycjoniści: Król a elity polityczne w Rzeczypospolitej XV–XVIII wieku*, ed. Mariusz Markiewicz and Ryszard Skowron (Kraków: Zamek królewski na Wawelu, 2006), 43.

¹⁹ Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, "Doradcy Władysława Jagiełły," in *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej: Zbiór studiów*, ed. Stefan K. Kuczyński, vol. 2 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1982), 190–91, 211; Grażyna Klimecka, "Czy rzeczywiście 'doradcy Władysława Jagiełły?'," in *Spółczesność Polski średniowiecznej: Zbiór studiów*, ed. Stefan K. Kuczyński, vol. 4 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990), 229.

²⁰ *ZDM*, vol. 6, № 1836, 457–58.

same reason: the king had borrowed money from Spytek to pay Vytautas for his participation in the Podolian campaign in 1394. The amount was 5,000 hryvnias of Prague groschens.²¹

Władysław II Jagiełło could not find the right person among the princes to replace the Koriatovyches and control their part of Podillya. As we have seen, there was no oath of allegiance sworn by the Koriatovyches to the new king, Jadwiga, and the Kingdom of Poland, although this does not rule out the possibility that such a document existed. Nevertheless, the subsequent events minimize the chances of its existence. Why did the Koriatovyches not swear allegiance to the king? If the Podolian princes had taken an oath, it would have been recorded in the sources in some way or another, and therefore the military campaign in the autumn of 1394 would have been needless, or its purpose would have been different.

One of the arguments regarding Spytek as the new ruler of Podillya, which Jan Tęgowski has drawn attention to, is that the Koriatovych brothers were regarded or considered at the Kraków court as Hungarian vassals. For this reason, Władysław II Jagiełło did not intend to leave Podillya under their control.²² The complexity of the king's policy was related not only to the broad territory of Central/Eastern Europe, whose borders had changed almost every year for the last half a century. The king faced a difficult situation. On the one hand, as the grand duke of Lithuania, he had to reckon with the interests of his inherited possessions and of members of the Gediminas, who had sworn their allegiance him not so long ago but demanded *udels* for themselves. On the other hand, as the king, Jagiełło had no intention of strengthening the position of Vytautas, his main competitor in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and, at the same time, he was supposed to take care of the kingdom's interests. Therefore, he chose the voivode of Kraków to be the new ruler of the recently conquered territory, and Spytek of Melsztyn became the new ruler of part of Podillya.

Why was Spytek interested in Podillya? For 150 years historians have discussed this unusual land assignation to one of the most honourable noblemen in the Polish Crown. Spytek's interest in Podillya seemed to be twofold: the Leliwas' move eastwards, and Władysław II Jagiełło's policy. The former began in the late 1380s, since Spytek and Jan of Tarnow belonged to the inner circle of the new king; their possessions increased thanks to the large estates within Ruthenian lands, while they held significant offices there. Concerning Jagiełło's policy, he treated the southeastern lands as a significant factor in his domestic (as Polish king) and foreign (as king and the grand duke of Lithuania) policies, where control over Podillya and the trade routes was one of the key policy targets.

On June 13, 1395, King Władysław II Jagiełło handed over Kamyanets Castle (*Camenecz*), Smotrych Castle (*Smotricz*), Chervonohrod Castle (*Czirwonogrod*), Skala Castle (*Scala*), and Bakota Castle (*Bacotha*) in Podillya to Spytek, while keeping the castles of Medzhybizh (*Medzibosze*), Bozhsky (*Bozske*), and Vinnytsya (*Winnicza*) to himself. He also took two Podolian districts, namely Terebovlya and Stinka (*districtus*

21 Kurtyka, "Podole pomiędzy," 28–29.

22 Tęgowski, "Sprawa przyłączenia," 160–61.

Trebowliensis et Szenca), and added them to his Ruthenian domain.²³ The king's privilege, although it seems odd at first glance, caused a protest among the noblemen of Lesser Poland. To calm down the situation for a while, the king gave a second privilege to Spytek, confirming his possessions in Podillya on behalf of Queen Jadwiga, on July 10, 1395. This document demonstrates that the king's jurisdiction reached eastwards to Zvenyhorod (*Wowigrod*) and Cherkasy (*Cirkass*).²⁴ It is important that both documents (with an interval of a month between them) enable us to reconstruct the geography of Great Podillya (see [Part 1](#)) and to stress again that Podillya as a historical region stretched from Terebovlya in the west to Cherkasy in the east in the late fourteenth century.

Treating the granting of land to Spytek as an element of Władysław II Jagiełło's policy, two statements of Włodzimierz Dworzaczek should be mentioned to support this idea. First, Władysław II Jagiełło regarded Podillya as a key territory in his southeastern policy. Second, the person dealing with this territory was supposed to be loyal to the king and familiar to Vytautas.²⁵ Jarosław Nikodem believes that this land granting was made with the consent or under the patronage of Vytautas.²⁶

The map of this land assignation, in particular the part of Podillya granted to Spytek of Melsztyn, should be considered from the perspective of the trade routes that ran in this part of Europe and provided for the delivery of eastern goods from the Black Sea region to Central Europe. The trade route from Suceava to Kamyanets was one of the *via valachica* branches. The road went from Kamyanets through either Skala or Smotrych to Terebovlya, and from Terebovlya to Lviv, and it remained unchanged for centuries.²⁷ Due to such a division of the region, Spytek's part of Podillya granted control over an alternative branch of the trade route that had been included in trade with Kraków since the 1370s, as demonstrated by the privileges given to Kraków's merchants by the Koriatovyches.

Here one should recall one aspect of recent history, from the perspective of the realities of the mid-1390s. Written in the chancellery of the Koriatovyches in the 1370s or 1380s, two documents recorded the privileges to Kraków merchants for the right to trade with Podillya.²⁸ How and with whom were the merchants supposed to trade? Using the roads of the Podolian Principality, the eastern trade under the protection of the Koriatovyches appears to be the most reasonable answer. Therefore, granting the part of Podillya to Spytek was a way to control both the existing trade routes and the merchants living there (see [Chapter 3](#)). The directions of the trade routes in the region led once again to reorganization of the territory and the emergence of the Podolian

²³ CV, № 115, 37–39.

²⁴ ZDM, vol. 6, № 1843, 465–68.

²⁵ Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy*, 113.

²⁶ Nikodem, *Witold*, 166.

²⁷ For instance, in the sixteenth century the way through Kamyanets was one of the main roads in the region; see Andrzej Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu: Handel między Polską a Imperium Osmańskim w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Wrocław: Fundacja na rzecz Nauki Polskiej, 1998), 17.

²⁸ KDMK, vol. 1. № 47, 57; № 60, 74–75.

Voivodeship after 1434—overlapping with Spytek's possession of Podillya, by a strange coincidence.

Thanks to Podillya, Spytek of Melsztyn was placed amongst the dukes of the Gediminas dynasty, who had not lost their possessions at that time. Nevertheless, Spytek began using the phrases *dominus et heres terre Podolie* (owner and heir of Podillya) and *dux Podolie* (duke of Podillya) in his title.²⁹ The reason for this was likely to be found in a clause of the document by which Spytek received that part of Podillya, saying *pleno iure ducali, quo ceteri nostri duces Lithuanie et Russie frui soliti sunt* ("according to the duke's rights that existed for Lithuanian and Ruthenian dukes").³⁰ Impossible in the Kingdom of Poland, this could be applied only on the contested borderlands, which were reformatted once again for the benefit of one or another owner.

It was not the first time that Spytek had revised his title. Having obtained Sambir County, he started using the following wording in the documents written in his chancellery: *heres et dominus districtus Samboriensis*³¹ ("heir and owner of Sambir"). After 1395 he used *dominus et haeres ducatus Podoliensis et Samboriensis, pallatinus et capitaneus Cracouinsis*³² ("owner and heir of Podillya and Sambir principalities, the voivode and starosta of Kraków"), or simply *haeres Mielstinensis, dominus Podoliae et pallatinus Cracouiensis*³³ ("heir of Melsztyn, owner of Podillya, and the voivode of Kraków"). Many of Spytek's titles have survived to the present day. Besides, in 1396 the king's chancellery called him *pallatinus Cracouiensis et dominus terre Podolie* ("the voivode of Kraków and owner of Podolian land").³⁴

Having presented a document in 1402, several years after Spytek's death, his wife, to some extent, continued this tradition: "Elżbieta, the widow of the deceased Spytek, the voivode of Kraków, owner and heir of Sambir Principality" (*Elizabeth relicta olim magnifici Spithconis pallatini Cracouiensis, domini et haeredis ducatus Samboriensis*).³⁵ The chancellery of his wife regarded the possessions of Spytek as a principality, although Sambir had never been one, unlike Podillya (which was under the rule of the king at that time).

It is not so important to discover what is hidden in these titles, given Spytek's desire to underline his new and exclusive position among the nobility of Lesser Poland. He could not be a prince because he had not been born one! However, why was this exception made for him? Why was he allowed to use "ducatus" regarding Podillya, implying the king's rights? It was likely to be related to the perception of Podillya, since Spytek had been granted the part of Podolian Principality along with its main cities, namely

²⁹ See more in Kurtyka, "Podole pomiędzy," 32.

³⁰ CV, № 115, 38.

³¹ AGZ, vol. 6, № 2, 2.

³² ZDM, vol. 4: *Dokumenty z lat 1211–1400*, ed. Stanisław Kuraś and Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowe imienia Ossolińskich, 1969), № 1122, 292.

³³ Ibid., № 1138, 310.

³⁴ AGZ, vol. 6, № 6, 10.

³⁵ ZDM, vol. 5: *Dokumenty z lat 1401–1440*, ed. Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś and Stanisław Kuraś (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowe imienia Ossolińskich, 1970), № 1160, 12.

Kamyanets, Smotrych, and Bakota. Therefore, in the perception of this territory, it was not the personality of Spytek that mattered but his exceptional status, even though Spytek's personal position in the hierarchy as a high-ranking official was never doubted. Władysław II Jagiełło regarded Podillya as a principality, and this might explain why Spytek received it with the rights of a prince.

Spytek's claim to be a king has been overlooked, oddly enough, by historians studying this period in history. Owning the part of Podillya seemed to give Spytek's children an opportunity to marry members of the Piast dynasty, the ruling dynasty in the Kingdom of Poland until 1370. The marriages of Spytek's offspring enabled them to move one step up in the hierarchy of Lesser Poland nobility at that time. It is essential to keep in mind that it all happened after Spytek had obtained Podillya! We should undoubtedly take into account the age of Spytek's children, as they had been too young before he received Podillya. Nevertheless, social advances kept taking place even after his death, when he could hardly have influenced the possibility of such marriages. The status of Spytek, earned in 1395 and related to Podillya, singled him out in the Kingdom of Poland.

Among Spytek's descendants, his daughter Jadwiga was the wife of Bernard of Niemodlin.³⁶ Their marriage (or, according to Dworzaczek, it was more of an engagement because of Jadwiga's young age) happened in 1396 or 1397, when Spytek had received not only Podillya, with its status of principality, but also the castles on its western border for his military campaign against Vladislaus II of Opole.³⁷ Moreover, he was alive at that time. His second daughter, Katarzyna, was first married (in about 1408) to Janusz the Younger of Mazovia. However, on the part of the Crown magnates, there was another marriage to Piast and other princes in the first half of the fifteenth century: Małgorzata of Szamotuł, the daughter of Wincenty, was first married to Casimir II of Raciborz, and later to Waclaw of Raciborz. Małgorzata was a relative of the Melsztyński: Beatrycze, the wife of Spytek's son, was the daughter of Dobrogost of Szamotuł and the cousin of Małgorzata.³⁸ Małgorzata's marriage was made possible through the marriage of Katarzyna, Spytek's daughter, to Janusz, the cousin of Małgorzata's husband.³⁹ Hence, the status of Spytek and his offspring had a far-reaching influence on those who were related to them by blood.

Finally, Elżbieta, the widow of the Podillya ruler, was remarried to Jan of Ziębice.⁴⁰ This illustrates how the status of the Melsztyński had grown to the ducal level. They had

36 Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy*, table 2, 302.

37 Jacek Laberschek, "Wyprawa zbrojna króla Władysława Jagiełły na krakowsko-wieluńskie posiadłości księcia Władysława Opolczyka w 1391 r.," in *Spółeczeństwo Polski średniowiecznej: Zbiór studiów*, ed. Stefan K. Kuczyński, vol. 6 (Warszawa: DiG, 1996), 156–58.

38 Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy*, table 2, 302; Dworzaczek, *Genealogia: Tablice*, table 4. Książęta Mazowiecy z Domu Piastów.

39 Witold Brzeziński, *Koligacje małżeńskie możnowładztwa wielkopolskiego w drugiej połowie XIV i pierwszej połowie XV wieku* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2012), 161–62.

40 Dworzaczek, *Genealogia: Tablice*, table 5. Książęta Śląscy z Domu Piastów (Wrocławscy i Swidniccy).

taken one of the highest positions within the nobility of the kingdom so that they could marry the members of the Piast dynasty.

The period of Spytek's rule over western Podillya is so "dark" (there are no sources regarding his presence in Podillya)⁴¹ that the mention of the privilege he granted to the citizens of Kamyanets included in the inspection (lustration) of Podillya Voivodeship in 1615 does not shed any light on the issue in question. In this privilege Spytek reserves the right of citizens under the jurisdiction of the Kamyanets magistrate to take the third part of the castle mill income in order to use that money for the defence of the city.⁴² In 1397 Spytek was probably in Podillya when the Moldavian voivode, Stephen, issued a *gleit* (a safety charter),⁴³ since Spytek attempted to persuade him not to hide the Koriatovyches. In the charter, Spytek is called *dominum Spythkonem, domino Spythkone*. As Dworzaczek suggests, Spytek controlled the policy towards the Moldavian and Wallachian principalities that became the vassal states of the Polish Crown because of the power vacuum in the Hungarian Kingdom. In 1397 Spytek's participation in the meeting of Jagiełło and Sigismund of Luxemburg in Stara Wieś was not, according to the researcher, a coincidence, since Spytek had Podillya and the Hungarian king offered protection to the Koriatovyeh brothers.⁴⁴

I could end the story of Spytek's brief rule over Podillya at this point. Ukrainian historiography witnesses several instances describing a great deal of work done from Spytek's own initiative for fortifying Kamyanets Castle, strengthening its defence capabilities, building towers, and even the "identification" of Spytek's family of arms, etc.⁴⁵ Perhaps construction and development of the castle and the city of Kamyanets as a new capital for Podillya were indeed initiated by Spytek, but there no sources to confirm these assumptions.

The only material evidence of the usage of the Leliwa coat of arms is its depiction on the tiles that covered the floor of an Orthodox Trinity church in Kamyanets. It is noteworthy that they complemented the other tiles, which included the depiction of an eagle symbolizing the Kingdom of Poland, and most "likely belonged to the coat of arms of a newcomer from Silesia."⁴⁶ These tiles demonstrate an ideological connotation of the

⁴¹ See Spytek's itinerary: Węcowski, *Działalność publiczna*, 176–78.

⁴² *Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 5. *Lustracye królewsczych ziem Ruskich Wołynia, Podola i Ukrainy z pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, ed. Aleksander Jabłonowski (Warszawa, 1877), 16.

⁴³ CV, № 136, 43.

⁴⁴ Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy*, 114–15.

⁴⁵ Ольга Пламєницька, *Кам'янець-Подільський* (Київ: Абрис, 2004), 113–15; Ольга Пламєницька, *Castrum Camenecensis: Фортеця Кам'янець (пізньоантичний—ранньоновий час)* (Кам'янець-Подільський: Абетка, 2012), 69–70. Where sense is not affected I have substituted the simpler "family" for the term "family of arms," commonly used by Polish historians to designate several generations of a family that used the same coat of arms.

⁴⁶ For the tracing and reconstruction made by Volodymyr Bevz, see in Микола Петров, *Історична топографія Кам'янця-Подільського кінця XVII–XVIII ст. (Історіографія. Джерела)* (Кам'янець-Подільський: Абетка-НОВА, 2002), 242, fig. 144.



Figure 4 Floor tile with the Leliwa family's coat of arms found at the Holy Trinity Church in the city of Kamyanets, dated to around the 1390s. 2012. Photo by Vitaliy Mykhaylovskiy.

composition: being under the rule of the Leliwas, Kamyanets and Podillya are part of and under the jurisdiction of the Kingdom of Poland (Figures 4 and 5).

In the summer of 1399 the ruler of Podillya, Spytek, joined the troops of the Lithuanian Duke Vytautas moving northeast from Kyiv. The army consisted of Lithuanians and Ruthenians mobilized by Vytautas, units of Tokhtamysh, approximately one hundred Teutonic Knights under the commander Marquard von Salzbach (*Marqwart von Salczbach*), and approximately 400 knights from the Kingdom of Poland. According to Długosz, Spytek of Melsztyn arrived with numerous knights from Podolian lands (*cum insigni terre Podolie exircitu*), such as Sędziwój of Ostroróg, Dobrogost of Szamotuł (his daughter was Spytek's wife), the voivode of Mazovia Jan Głowacz, Ganusz from Dąbrowa, and others.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ "Johanns von Posilge, Officials von Pomesanien: Chronik des Landes Preussen (von 1360 an, fortgesetzt bis 1419)," in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum: Die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1866), 230; Długosii, *Annales*, liber 10: 1370–1405, 225–29. For the political aspect and the meaning of the battle, see Nikodem, *Witold*, 187, 192–95, 197–98.



Figure 5 Floor tile with the coat of arms of the Polish Kingdom found at the Holy Trinity Church in Kamyanets, dated to around the 1390s. 2012. Photo by Vitaliy Mykhaylovskiy.

Why did Spytek join this expedition? Most of the Polish knights were forced to refuse participation because of, according to Długosz, the forbiddance of Queen Jadwiga. There are two possible reasons why Spytek joined Vytautas: first, Spytek owned western Podillya (while its eastern part belonged to Vytautas); and, second, a natural desire for money and glory.⁴⁸ Having engaged in this last military campaign, Spytek died at the Battle of the Vorskla River on August 16, 1399. His death was recorded in the Suprasl Chronicle, listing him among the princes killed: “[A]nd these are the names of the killed Lithuanian Princes ... Prince Vyspytko of Kraków.”⁴⁹ One hundred years later the source recalls “the principal” status of Spytek, calling him the Prince of Kraków.

Spytek’s ruling over western Podillya from 1395 to 1399 was an unusual example of that time when a person without a royal birthright was rated so highly by the king that the latter granted him a broad territory with sovereign rights, and then this territory became the Podolian Voivodeship.

⁴⁸ Długosz describes how pathetic Spytek’s behaviour was: Długosii, *Annales*, liber 10: 1370–1405, 227.

⁴⁹ ПСРЛ, vol. 17: *Западнорусские летописи* (Санкт-Петербург, 1907), 48; *ibid.*, vol. 35, 52: “[A] се имена їзбиєных князеи Литовьськихъ ... князь Выспытко Краковьскый.”

This holding led to the peculiar status of Spytek among the magnates of the kingdom. The evidence of his high status comes from the marriages of Spytek's children and his widow with the members of the Piast dynasty, which constituted an extraordinary exception. One of the initiators of Jadwiga's choice of Jogaila to be her husband, he was highly valued by the king. Besides, the Koriatovyches' pro-Hungarian position also influenced the attitude to Spytek, since the brothers' loyalty to the Hungarian Crown seemed to be not only archaic but also dangerous. Having no family ties with Moldavian rulers and being a stranger in that part of Europe, Spytek was a perfect person (not to mention his wealth and influence on the king) to implement Władysław II Jagiełło's plans regarding the incorporation of the Podolian Principality into the king's domain and the Kingdom of Poland. In this case, Jagiełło probably used the practice of Louis I of Hungary, who linked the Ruthenian lands to the Kingdom of Poland, having appointed Vladyslaus II of Opole to govern there.

The second half of the fourteenth century opened Podillya to the world—a new region on the contested European border. Willing to expand its influence southwards, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania used the realities of the time, when the Tatars became weak, to its advantage. Lithuanians established their power thanks to the civil war in the Golden Horde in the late 1350s. Another reason was the outbreak of plague, which led to a decrease in the population of the steppe between the Dniester and the Dnieper in the late 1340s. These two factors facilitated the invasion of the Lithuanians. Although they established their authority over the new territories in a short time, they had paid a tribute in silver to the Tatars for almost fifty years.

After the arrival of the Koriatovyches the region refocused its policy towards the West. Cooperation with the Polish King Casimir III the Great and then with his heir Louis I of Hungary consolidated the western vector of the Podolian Principality's policy, which resulted most likely in the arrival of newcomers from German lands to Podolian cities, especially to Kamyanets and Smotrych.

The fealty of the Koriatovyches to the Hungarian Crown, which they swore in 1377, influenced the history of Podillya. The reluctance of the Koriatovyches to become the vassals of Władysław II Jagiełło, as most of the Gediminas did, led to their losing Podillya in 1394. Since then, the region had become the subject of controversy between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The granting of the western part of Podillya to Spytek of Melsztyn, the voivode of Kraków, was the first partition of the region into three parts, which occurred again in the 1430s. The partition reflected the significance of trade routes in the region. The branch of *via valachica* running from Kamyanets entailed the allotment of fiefs within Podillya Principality for Spytek of Melsztyn in 1395. It also divided Podillya into two parts, the eastern and the western. Western Podillya, with the capital in Kamyanets, became the Podolian Voivodeship in 1434, while eastern Podillya (the so-called Bratslavshchyna) remained under the influence of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania due to political circumstances in the 1430s. But, until the beginning of the civil war in Lithuania in the 1430s, Podillya occupied an essential place in the political calculations of both Władysław II Jagiełło and Grand Duke Vytautas.

Chapter 7

CHOOSING THE BETTER LEADER: WŁADYSŁAW II JAGIEŁŁO OR VYTAUTAS?

BEFORE BEGINNING, I WOULD like to say a few words on the issue of chronology and difficulties related to it. A certain confusion in the sequence of regnal periods and the accuracy of their dating comes from using the chronology included in the chronicles and annals, containing mistakes in dating ranging from a couple of years to decades. Therefore, after the death of Spytek of Melsztyn in 1399, the younger brother of the king, Švitrigaila, received western Podillya in 1400. Švitrigaila then fled to the Teutonic Order in 1401, after which he forced Władysław II Jagiełło to include this territory in the Ruthenian domain of the king. In 1410, after defeating the Teutonic Knights in the Battle of Grunwald, the king handed Podillya over to Vytautas as a life-long possession in appreciation of his help. This could have been the end of the story, since Vytautas appointed starostas in Kamyanets from 1411.

At the same time, the king kept granting lands in Podillya, which was under the control of Vytautas. At least one such land assignments was recorded in 1413. However, the Podolian noblemen had refused to swear to Vytautas twice, in 1414 and 1418, so the king had to intervene. The earliest documents regarding Vytautas's land assignments in the region are dated 1418. Having obtained the whole territory of Podillya in 1410, Vytautas, therefore, took total control of it only eight years later—and, even then, only with the help of Władysław. The main obstacle was, first and foremost, the incoming noblemen, who resisted him in western Podillya.

Lastly, the Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxemburg had little hope of restoring his sovereignty over Podillya, which used to be a vassal state of the Hungarian Crown. Moreover, Fedir Koriatovych, the last ruler of Podillya, had been under his protection at least by 1412. These events will all be considered in more detail below.

The Short Rule of Švitrigaila

The death of Spytek of Melsztyn in the Battle of the Vorskla River in 1399 posed the question: who would take possession of Podillya? Władysław II Jagiełło solved the problem in a peculiar and unexpected way—in a family-based way, so to speak. Through the charter of 1400, the king granted Podillya to his younger brother, Švitrigaila. And apparently, afterwards, he regretted this decision quite frequently.

Based on his previous experience, Władysław II Jagiełło did want to appoint a representative of the Lesser Poland magnates, as he did with Spytek of Melsztyn. Prince Švitrigaila received Podillya with the status of a principality, since Władysław hoped to have a loyal Podolian ruler. According to Švitrigaila's oath, he vowed to support the Catholic Church and put Catholics instead of schismatics in Podillya's castles. At the time, Spytek of Melsztyn had not been pronounced dead, and had he returned from

the imaginary Tatar captivity he would have ruled over his part of Podillya.¹ However, the use of such rhetoric in the document should not mislead us, even though these statements have been used in the historiography to demonstrate the polonization of the local population and the expansion of Catholicism. Having issued the charter of 1400, the king broke the promise he gave in 1389² to the noblemen of the Lviv land who belonged to his Ruthenian domain—not to appoint princes as governors.

Švitrigaila acted not only as the lord of Podillya but also as the lord of Halych, which was under the king's jurisdiction. He appointed starostas in Kamyanets and other Podolian castles, as well as in Halych (for instance, he appointed Danylo Dazhbohovich Zaderevecky);³ besides, he might have tried to enlist the support of the local—that is, Halych—landed gentry. Švitrigaila's activities in Halych land could be related to his estates in Pokuttia, as seen in documents of the mid-1420s.⁴ Švitrigaila, therefore, was an ambitious young prince who wished to be more than the ruler in Kamyanets.

The short rule of Švitrigaila in Podillya has been recorded in very few documents. The first, dated August 17, 1400, is the record of land granted to the Franciscans of Kamyanets;⁵ Švitrigaila gave them the villages of Kryvche and Klipyntsi in 1401 and 1402.⁶ The second document pertains to the granting of the village of Zubrivka on the Smotrych River to the Dominicans of Kamyanets on March 30, 1401.⁷

That is all that we have for Švitrigaila's short two-year rule in Podillya. By a peculiar coincidence, it is only the documents for the two Catholic orders that have survived to the present day from his period in charge. Švitrigaila kept using the title of Podolian ruler even after his flight in 1401. On March 2, 1403, he signed an agreement with the Teutonic Order in Marienburg (Malbork) in which he called himself *dominus Podolie* (the lord of Podillya).⁸ The fact that the only two documents that have survived are the documents given to Catholic orders should not sound unusual, as already by that time the Catholic Church was taking good care of its rights and the documents confirming them.

The documents for the Franciscans of 1400 and the Dominicans of 1401 include the lists of witnesses, namely the starosta of Kamyanets, Hrytsko Kierdeyovych; Hrynko from

¹ For Švitrigaila's oath, see in Kurtyka, "Repertorium podolskie: Dokumenty do 1430 roku," № 41, 167.

² AGZ, vol. 3, № 50, 84–85.

³ Danylo Dazhbohovich Zaderevecky, who was probably from the Kingdom of Hungary, collaborated with Švitrigaila; see in Віталій Михайловський, "Історія одного розмежування біля Крилоса у 1412 р.," *Вісник львівського університету: Серія історична* 45 (2010), 537–38.

⁴ On August 31, 1424, Švitrigaila, who was at that time the prince of Chernihiv, granted the village of Kosiv to Maksym or Vlad Dragoshenovich and his descendants: AGAD, tzw. ML, dz. IV B, sygn. 17, k. 160v–161v.

⁵ Kurtyka, "Najstarsze dokumenty," 163–64.

⁶ On the issue of dating, see Kurtyka, "Repertorium podolskie: Dokumenty do 1430 roku," № 43, 168.

⁷ *Zbiór dokumentów znajdujących się w Bibliotece Hr. Przezdzieckich w Warszawie*, ed. Adam Chmiel (Kraków, 1890), № 6, 10–12.

⁸ CV, № 269, 82.

Sokilets (in both documents); Mikhalash Volokh; Imram from Czulice, in the first document; in the second document, Vasyl Bozhsky (Vinnytskyi), Demyan Verozub, Wojciech Rowski, and the court marshal, Vasko (*Wasscone nostro marsalco*). Such a modest number of Švitrigaila's people illustrates that those who had made their careers during the office of the previous Podolian ruler maintained their position in the government of the new ruler. Švitrigaila's milieu consisted of Prince Vasyl, who had collaborated with the Koriatovyches; Hrynko from Sokilets, who had taken high offices in the government; Hrytsko Kierdeyovych, the starosta of Kamyanets appointed by Švitrigaila, and one who would hand Podillya and Kamyanets over to Władysław II Jagiełło on June 23, 1402 (as discussed below); and a member of the Verozub family: Khodor Verozub, who witnessed Fedir Koriatovych's document for Hrynko from Sokilets. Švitrigaila, therefore, did not bring his own team to Podillya but had to work with those who were already there.

The new cohort of people coming to Podillya (mentioned in the written sources for the first time) included Mikhalash Volokh, Imram from Czulice, and Wojciech Rowski. As for the origin of Mikhalash, he was thought to come from either Walachia or Moldavia, as implied by his surname. Imram of the Czewoja family of arms, as Kurtyka demonstrates in his research, was from the Lesser Poland nobility: the owner of Czulice, located near Proszowice in Kraków Voivodeship.⁹ Kurtyka also refers to the Kraków court note, dated March 15, 1409, on the dispute between Imram and Rafał from Słupów, the starosta of Cherkasy at that time, over money that Rafał paid to Imram for the villages of Zdalov (Sdzalow) and Mykulychi (Mikulicze) in Podillya.¹⁰ Imram might have obtained these villages from Władysław II Jagiełło between 1402 and 1409, whereas he arrived in Podillya from Lesser Poland during the reign of Spytek of Melsztyn, as seen from his origin. The presence of Wojciech Rowski in this document leads to the suggestion that the Rov area (today's Bar) had had him as its owner since the end of the fourteenth century.

The mosaic-like nature of Švitrigaila's milieu in Podillya shows that the region, since the end of the fourteenth century, had become a place offering new opportunities for newcomers from both east and west. However, people who had collaborated with the Koriatovyches, such as Hrynko from Sokilets, continued to hold their positions. Hrytsko Kirdeyovych, belonging to the Kirdeys, obtained his first position as the starosta of Kamyanets during the rule of Švitrigaila. However, he had been involved in Podillya's affairs even earlier, during the rule of the previous rulers: he served as a witness, along with Mykhaylo Procevykh and Prokop from Podillya, who attached his seal (*vel litteras sub sigillis ipsorum*) in the city court of Lviv on June 22, 1388.¹¹ Later, after handing over his starosta office in Kamyanets, Hrytsko was mentioned in several sources to the

⁹ Kurtyka, "Najstarsze dokumenty," 165.

¹⁰ Ibid.; *Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki*, vol. 2, ed. Antoni Zygmunt Helcel (Kraków, 1870), № 1212, 180: "Imram junior de Czulice in domino Raphaele de Sluppow Capiteano Czercasiensi octuaginta sexagenas latorum grossorum ratione hereditatum in Podolia per ipsum Imramum sibi venditarum, jure superlucratus est, videlicet villarum Sdzalow et Mikulicze." Concerning the identification of the villages, Mikulicze appears to be today's Mykulyntsi, Lityn district, Vinnytsya oblast. For the other village, a scribe in Kraków wrote it down with mistakes, so it is difficult to identify.

¹¹ *Najstarsza księga miejska 1382–1389*, № 606, 100.

east from Podillya. For instance, in March 1406 he was the first in the list of witnesses recorded in two documents presented in Lviv.¹² In the absence of his own *udel* in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Švitrigaila did not have his milieu or supporters in Podillya in the early fifteenth century, and had to form his government from the local landed gentry.

The short-term rule of Švitrigaila in Podillya enabled him later to consider this land his own, which became apparent in the second half of the 1430s (as will be discussed below). Władysław II Jagiełło seemed to have no choice but to place Podillya under his jurisdiction after Švitrigaila's flight. The period of the king's rule over Podillya lasted de jure up until 1410, and de facto until 1418.

The First Period of Władysław II Jagiełło's Rule (1402–1411): The King's Personal Servants

The reign of Władysław II Jagiełło over Podillya is divided into two periods, which are different in lengths and content: from mid-1402 to 1411, and from late 1430 to 1434. Such periodization is based on Władysław's nominations in Kamyanets.¹³ The first period begins in 1402, since that is the year of Švitrigaila's flight and the creation of an alliance with the Teutonic Order in Marienburg (Malbork), which became a reason to deprive Švitrigaila of his fief: Podillya.¹⁴ The end date of the first period is not precisely determined. However, it would appear to be the year 1411, when the arrival of Jerzy (Yuriy) Gedygold, the starosta of Kamyanets appointed by Vytautas,¹⁵ marked the beginning of a new phase—the rule of Vytautas over the whole of Podillya. The difficulties in dating stem from the fact that Władysław II Jagiełło called starosta Piotr Włodkowiec from Charbinowice back in 1411, after the victorious Battle of Grunwald the previous year, and handed western Podillya over to Vytautas as a life-long possession.¹⁶

The formal start of the king's rule was marked in the document signed by Hrytsko Kirdeyovych on June 23, 1402, in which the starosta pledged that he would hand the Podolian land along with Kamyanets and other castles over to Władysław II Jagiełło. The person taking on Podillya was Dersław Konopka, the first appointee of the king in the region sent to be in charge of this mission. Meanwhile, Hrytsko swore an oath of allegiance to the king,¹⁷ which was quite apparent, as Podillya had never been a foreign

¹² *Katalog dokumentów pergaminowych: Ze zbiorów Tomasza Niewodniczańskiego w Bitburgu*, ed. Janina Tomaszewicz and Maciej Zdanek (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2004), № 38 (the starosta of Lviv, Florian of Korytnica); № 39 (Lviv castellan Kunat), 18–19.

¹³ *Urzednicy podolscy*, № 528–34, 116–19; № 538–39, 120–22.

¹⁴ Antoni Prochaska, *Lenna i maństwa na Rusi i na Podolu* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1901), 13–14; Kurtyka, "Podole pomiędzy," 32–33.

¹⁵ *Urzednicy podolscy*, № 535, 119.

¹⁶ Kurtyka, "Podole pomiędzy," 35–36.

¹⁷ *Codex Epistolaris Saeculi Decimi Quinti*, vol. 2, ed. Anatoli Lewicki (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1891), № 26, 31.

land to him: Hrytsko was mentioned in Podolian sources in the 1380s. The Kierdeys were from Tatar nobility who had started to serve the rulers on the other side of the Great Border from the 1360s. Second-generation members of the Kierdeys took pro-Western positions, and some of them converted to Catholicism. Their career trajectories and conscious choice were possible at the time of crisis in the Golden Horde, when the Grand Duchy of Lithuania began expanding its power over the contested territories on the borderlands in the 1360s. The start of the Kierdeys' service to new rulers coincided with the appearance of George and Aleksander Koriatovych in Podillya.

The beginning of the fifteenth century saw the appearance of several more candidates for governing Podillya. Princes Fedir and Vasyl Koriatovych yearned to take it back: they were not satisfied with the annexation of their inherited principality. Spytek's widow Elżbieta, along with her children, claimed the rights to own western Podillya based on two documents of 1395. Besides, Prince Švitrigaila also wanted to return to "his possessions," despite his flight to the Teutonic Order. The situation, therefore, was complicated, and had to be addressed.

Over the next year the king settled matters with two of the candidates for Podillya. Princes Fedir and Vasyl Koriatovych swore oaths of allegiance to the king in Hrubieszów and Szczekarzew and renounced their claims to the Podolian Principality.¹⁸ Although these two documents enabled the Koriatovyches to return to the region they had established, it did not prevent them from opposing the king (see [Chapter 5](#)).

Spytek of Melsztyn's widow received 2,000 kopas of groschens for Podillya from Scibor from Oględów, paid by the starosta of Podillya Rafał on May 9, 1403.¹⁹ After having received the compensation, Spytek's heirs lost—or, rather, disavowed—western Podillya quite smoothly and civilly.²⁰ They were more interested in estates in Lesser Poland and Sambir in the Ruthenian land, whereas a distant and dangerous Podillya that had brought death to Spytek did not appear to be a priority to them.

The first privileges confirmed by Władysław II Jagiełło after returning Podillya were those issued to the Dominicans and the Franciscans of Kamyanets during Švitrigaila's governance in the region.²¹ However, the good preservation of these documents in church archives might be playing a trick on historians. The insistence of Švitrigaila and the king on confirming the Catholic orders' possessions, however modest they were, for the two monasteries in Kamyanets might be exploited as evidence of a Catholic "offensive" against the Ukrainian lands, supported by the Polish king. It fits the framework of the Ukrainian historical narrative on the Catholicism imposed on the local Ruthenians. However, these assumptions should not be based on only two Podolian documents from that time.

18 Tęgowski, "Sprawa przyłączenia Podola," 173, 174.

19 "Elizabeth relicta Dni Spitconis Palatinissa Cracouiensis, duo milia sexagenarum sibi de terra Podolie a Domino Raphaele Capitaneo ibidem presentata, recepisce apud Stiborium de Oglandow recongnouit": *SPPP*, vol. 2, № 1002, 149.

20 Dworzaczek, *Leliwici Tarnowscy*, 140.

21 Kurtyka, "Najstarsze dokumenty," 165–66; *AS*, vol. 1, № 23, 23–24.

Władysław II Jagiełło, following the rules of social behaviour in the overlord–vassal relationship (since his part of the Ruthenian domain was at stake), sustained those relationships that had existed in Podillya during the reign of the Koriatovyches in the second half of the fourteenth century. Let us consider several examples from the privileges of Prince Fedir Koriatovych, through which he granted Bakota to Nemyrya (1388), Sokilets to Hrynko (1391), and an estate in the eastern part of Podillya to Pashko Vasnovych (1392).²²

The local gentry in service to the king were obliged to supply drays, repair fortresses, participate in building new cities in their own and foreign lands, fight in wars, pursue enemies, pay tribute, and accept and support ambassadors.

The king's documents issued for western Podillya after 1402 include articles that show not only the local context (a vassal's obligation to stay in his residence) but also references to the ancient traditions established over the reign of the Koriatovyches in the second half of the fourteenth century. The formulas used in the documents might be reduced to the phrase "in the same way as it used to be done." There are six documents in total with such references; four come from the first period of Władysław's rule.

1403 [T]o our ancestors, the princes and owners of Podillya, as usually owed ... (*quae antecessoribus nostris, ducibus Podoliae et possessoribus ipsius solvi solitae fuerant*).²³

1406 [T]o our ancestors, the princes and rulers of Podillya and its owners, as usually owed ... (*que antecessoribus nostris ducibus et principibus Podoliae et possessoribus ipsius solvi solite fuerant*).²⁴

1407 [T]o our ancestors, the princes and rulers of Podillya and its owners, as usually owed ... (*quas praedecessoribus suis ducibus et principibus Podoliae ac possessoribus illiusolvere consueverunt, exsolverent*).²⁵

1409 And that tribute and those works that were in place at the time of the first princes, [they] have to pay and perform in a similar way the people of the nobles perform and pay, when needed (*A tye dani y tye roboty, sto byli za pirvich kniaziaith, mayvt roboty i platyti podlug toho, iako ynnich ziemlian liudy robiat i placziat, koli bvdziet nam toho potrebnizna*).²⁶

The same phrasing is included in the documents belonging to the second period of Władysław's rule.

1431 [T]o our ancestors, the owners of Podillya, as usually owed ... (*quae antecessoribus nostris, possessoribus Podoliae solvi solitatae fuerant*).²⁷

22 Tęgowski, "Sprawa przyłączenia Podola," 171; Груша, "Невядома грамата Фёдора Карыятавіча за 1391 г.," 132–33; Мікульскі, "Новая грамата князя Фёдора Кориатовича 1392 г.," 149–50.

23 ZDM, vol. 6, № 1660, 210; № 1661, 211.

24 Ibid., № 1694, 255.

25 Ibid., № 1706, 273.

26 Олег Купчинський, "Забуті та невідомі староукраїнські грамоти XIV—першої половини XV ст.," *Записки наукового товариства імені Шевченка* 233 (1997), 350.

27 ZDM, vol. 7, № 2060, 307; № 2061, 308.

1431 [T]ribute to princes of Podillya, our ancestors, usually was paid ... (*contributiones ducibus Podoliae, praedecessoribus nostris solvi solitae nobis et nostris successoribus*).²⁸

As seen from these examples, the granting of land in Podillya did not replicate the customs of the Kingdom of Poland, because the region had its own historical tradition and relationships established in the second half of the fourteenth century. Some articles of the Podolian documents were similar to the documents of the same kind issued in other Ruthenian lands under the king's rule. However, the noblemen's duties seemed not only to consider the ancient traditions of their service but also to expand them. Regarding the second period of Władysław II Jagiełło's rule over Podillya (though only over its western part), the reference to the ancient traditions was used only twice, revealing that the new traditions coming from the Polish Crown were starting to replace the ancient ones.²⁹ Alternatively, and more probably, most of the recipients who received fiefdoms from the king in Podillya were from different ethnic territories and contributed, indirectly, to the establishment of new legal rules and practices in preference to the previously used ones.

Therefore, "ancient" traditions established after the coming of the Koriatovyches were eventually forgotten by the 1430s and replaced by new traditions, which were a sign of the Western (Polish) approach of settling noblemen on this territory. The new-comer nobility, in their turn, brought with them new Western practices of land tenure.

Unfortunately, there is nothing to say about the traditions in the first half of the fourteenth century and how they differed from those defined as "the old princely times" in Jagiełło's privileges. However, "the old princely times" were linked only to the rule of the Koriatovyches. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the king and Vytautas established new practices that were modelled on those used during the rule of Vladislaus II of Opole in the king's Ruthenian domain between 1372 and 1378.³⁰

At the beginning of the fifteenth century Podillya was conceived as a separate territory within the Ruthenian lands of the king's domain, as seen in the document of Moldavian voivode Alexander the Good (Alexandru cel Bun) given to merchants in 1407: "And we did this to merchants of our master, the Polish King, from the whole Ruthenian land and Podolian [land]."³¹

The hierarchy of offices and the structured system of the noble corporation, similar to those in place during the previous period of the rule of the Koriatovyches, continued to exist. In his document of November 18, 1405, Władysław II Jagiełło confirms

²⁸ Ibid., № 2077, 329.

²⁹ Certain trends in the implementation of the law of the Polish Crown in Halych lands before 1434 are observed in the document of the starosta of Halych, Michał from Buczac, in 1418. The formula *подлугъ зѣмскою права* was used in the declarative part of the document. See in Розов, *Українські грамоти*, № 48, 89.

³⁰ Gilewicz, *Stanowisko i działalność*, 23–34.

³¹ AGZ, vol. 7, № 2, 207. A similar formula was noted in the document of 1434; see *ibid.*, № 4 (annex), 218: "А то есмы оучинили коупцемъ господаря нашего, короля полскаго, из' оусей роской земли и изъ подолской."

that, according to the starosta of Podillya, Florian from Korytnica, and the noblemen of "Podillya" (!), the villages of Kniazhe and Kolchovtsi are the property of Lavrin, alias Shulha (*Laurencium alias Suchlha*), inherited from his father Andriy (*Andree dicti Suchlha*), who had died in the battle against the Tatars.³² For the first time, the document records the information about a collective testimony of the local gentry and Podolian nobility (*terrigene et nobiles terre nostre Podolie*), as well as reflecting the hierarchy of officials: starostas, procurators, burgraves, voivodes, officials (*capitaneis, procuratoribus, burgrabiis, woyewodis, officialibusque terre nostre Podolie*).³³ Therefore, one can see the familiar picture demonstrated by the sources from the neighbouring territory, which three decades later would become the Ruthenian Voivodeship.³⁴ This case generates one assumption. The scribe seemed to use the conventional phrasing, in which the noblemen had been already categorized.

Who were the subjects of land assignments in the first decades of the fifteenth century? This question is one of the most complicated issues of the time. First of all, the noblemen (local gentry, boyars) mentioned in privileges were recorded in sources for the first time, especially the local gentry. But, for this research, it is incredibly significant, because the records enable one to observe the social structure of the nobility who received fiefs. The only problem is that, with the growth in the number of noblemen, the diversity of their social and ethnic groups increased as well. Identification of their ethnicity is quite provisional, because it can be based only on the interpretation of names, surnames, nicknames, and places of origin, or places one used as the surname or nickname.

Almost all the names listed in the documents were accompanied by a standard definition of that time, namely "loyal obedient skilful" (*fidelium obsequiorum strenui*), "loyal to us" (*fidelis noster*), "to my servant" (*sludze naszemu, servitori nostro*). The usage of definitions demonstrates that a person was a servant or a vassal of the king, confirming the argument that the king treated Podillya as his own domain and granted the noblemen privileges for settling there on the basis of their feudal service. One can understand the status of Podillya through the definitions of Podolian noblemen in the documents. The definition *nobilis* was used only once, in the document of Andriy from Babshyn. For Władysław II Jagiełło, all the recipients of landholding in his domain or its Ruthenian part were his servants who received fiefs in Podillya, despite their previous status and vassal allegiance—or, rather, patron–client relationships they had had in the lands they came from. Sometimes it led to situations in which wealthy noblemen from Lesser Poland, such as the Szafraniecs or the Odrowążs from Sprowa, received estates in Podillya with an obligation to reside there. They were hardly expected to follow this rule.

³² ZDM, vol. 6, № 1688, 248–49. I suggest recording the recipient of the document as Lavrin Shulha, in contrast to the Polish version of his name, Wawrzyniec zw. Sychlha, as used by the editors of the document.

³³ Ibid., № 1688, 248.

³⁴ For example, see the document for the city of Kolomyia from 1395: AGZ, vol. 3, № 59, 111.

Podillya under Vytautas: The Last Ruler of the Great Podillya

Having received from Władysław II Jagiełło the right to own the whole of Podillya until the end of his life, Vytautas was unable to fulfil it immediately. This was his second attempt, after the first in 1394, to obtain power over this contested territory. In 1394/95 Vytautas did not achieve his goal, despite his participation in the siege of Kamyanets and the ousting of the Koriatovyches. Yet, after the Battle of Grunwald, Władysław II Jagiełło was obliged to thank Vytautas by giving him Podillya for the rest of his life. It appears that Vytautas had cherished the hope of ruling Podillya even after the events of the mid-1390s. In 1409, according to a dispatch for the Great Master of the Teutonic Order, Władysław II Jagiełło's wish to achieve peace seemed to incline him to grant Podillya to Vytautas, clearly demonstrating Jagiełło's intentions.³⁵

Wishing to boost his status as one of the heroes of the war with the Teutonic Order, Vytautas went to the Kingdom of Hungary after the Peace of Thorn in 1411.³⁶ Sources record that the newly appointed starosta of Podillya, Gedygold, who had participated in the assembly of the Hungarian and Polish magnates, was in the suite of the prince.

Vytautas made considerable efforts to subordinate a new and broad territory. In addition, he faced resistance from the local noblemen from the Crown's voivodeships, who therefore had pro-Polish views. King Władysław II Jagiełło had to remind them twice, in 1414³⁷ and in 1418,³⁸ to swear the oath of allegiance to the grand duke. When asking them for the second time, Władysław II Jagiełło probably appealed to those who came from non-Ruthenian lands and had settled in Podillya in the mid-1390s. In 1418 the noblemen, who the king addressed as "the obedient ... and Podolian nobility ..., all and individual noblemen, nobles, city dwellers and anyone [living] in our Podillya land," agreed to swear fealty to Vytautas.³⁹

The case of Podillya was a unique one within all the king's lands because, for the first time, he had to deal with a position different from his own concerning territorial subordination. Did the king in such a way play a certain political game using the noblemen? Unfortunately, we cannot prove it, even if that was the case. It is worth noting that the process of consolidating the privileged stratum on the contested border happened surprisingly rapidly. It took them only several decades (according to all the primary sources,

³⁵ CV, № 402, 179.

³⁶ Vytautas's itinerary compiled by Jerzy Purc does not include any information about Vytautas's visit to the Hungarian Kingdom. The last date of the itinerary from 1411 connected to a geographical marker is the city of Kamyanets in Podillya (August 23): Jerzy Purc, "Itinerarium Witolda Wielkiego księcia Litwy (17 lutego 1370—27 października 1430)," *Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu*, vol. 11: *Studia z dziejów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVIII wieku*, ed. Jerzy Ochmański (Poznań: UAM, 1971), 92.

³⁷ CE, vol. 2, 22: "Item anno Christi 1414 litteram rex Polonie misit ex Vilna ad dominos Podolie, ut facerent omagium Allexandro Vittoldo duci magno Lithuanie et Rusie ..."

³⁸ Prochaska, *Podole lennem Korony 1352–1430*, 19–20; CV, № 805, 427–28.

³⁹ CV, № 805, 427: "Item sequitur ... ad nobiles Podolie ..., universis et singulis nobilibus, terrigenis, civibus et quibusunque terre nostre Podolie."

since the 1370s) to feel not like foreigners but like the nobility of Podillya at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In general, the process of subordinating the local nobility, leaving aside the refusal to swear (which did not undermine Vytautas's life-long rights for Podillya), lasted for several years, as shown by the following documents: the treaty of 1412, between Władysław II Jagiełło and the Hungarian King Sigismund, in which the Polish king was called the owner of Podillya;⁴⁰ and the king's privilege of 1413, through which the king granted the villages of Chornokintsi and Kryve in Skala County of Podillya land to Andriy from Babshyn.⁴¹ Regarding the first document, Władysław II Jagiełło was considered to be the sovereign even of those territories that he had given away for life-long land tenure. The second document is rather an exception to the usual practice of land assignment exercised by Vytautas.

The story of transferring the authority and the oath complicates the chronology of the history of Podillya at the beginning of the fifteenth century and yields a number of myths in historiography. The main problem was with the chronology of rulers' reigns in Podillya, but there was also neglect of the fact that Podillya had been given to Vytautas. The rejection or "forgetting" of the latter caused a long-lasting competition for the right to rule over Podillya from the 1430s to the 1450s.

The fact that the incorporation of local noblemen included people coming from Lesser Poland, Silesia, and Mazovia who did not want to take an oath to the new ruler seems to be an indication of their pro-Western views. It is important to keep in mind that the local gentry were accustomed to dealing with foreign officials and noblemen. Therefore, the non-local nobles supposedly inspired the opposition to Vytautas. The noble status of the king's servants might have been another trigger that provoked their resistance, since they received privileges for landholdings from the king and therefore did not want to swear allegiance to Vytautas.

It should be noted that the first known document (see [Chapter 8](#)), in which Vytautas registered 60 hryvnias for Hrygoriy from Davydivtsi's villages of Lysivtsi and Nabokivtsi, was signed by Vytautas on September 8, 1418,⁴² whereas Jagiełło's letter to the Podolian nobility with a demand to swear an oath of allegiance to Vytautas is dated October 30, 1418. Therefore, the distribution of lands concurred with the oath of the local nobility.

40 Ibid., № 492, 228–31: "[I]n terra autera Podolie, idem dominus Sigismundus rex promisit eundem dominum Wladislaum regem per se nec per suos subditos facere impediri ..." (229).

41 Михайло Грушевський, "Матеріали до історії суспільно-політичних і економічних відносин Західної України: Серія перша (ч. 1–80) (1361–1530)," in Михайло Грушевський, *Твори у 50-ти томах*, vol. 7: *Історичні студії та розвідки (1900–1906)* (Львів: Світ, 2005), № 15, 157–58.

42 Władysław Semkowicz, "Nieznane nadania Witolda dla osób prywatnych," *Ateneum Wileński* 7, no. 3/4 (1930), 852–54. About Vytautas's documents for Podillya, see *Vitoldiana: Codex privilegiorum Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1386–1430*, ed. Jerzy Ochmański (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986). One of the witnesses of the document attracts attention because of the links between Terebovlya and Podillya before 1395—the starosta of Terebovlya, Boguchwał

However, the starosta of Kamyanets (*capitaneus Podolie*) Yuriy (Jerzy) Gedygold, put in place by Vytautas, was mentioned almost immediately in the sources in 1411.⁴³

For more than thirty years Władysław II Jagiełło competed with Vytautas to be the better ruler of Podillya, but there was no winner in this battle. The legal effect of the documents and a bit of luck helped the Polish king to win, although Vytautas had yearned to take all of Podillya under his control since the mid-1390s. But Podillya cost him a lot. In late 1394 he personally had to lead and oversee both the seizure of Kamyanets and the subordination of much of the Podolian Principality. He hoped to take over the region after Spytek of Melsztyn's death, but to no avail. Only after the betrayal of the youngest brother of the king, Švitrigaila, in 1400 and 1401 and Vytautas's bravery at the Battle of Grunwald in 1410 did Władysław II Jagiełło grant him Podillya in its entirety (except for the territories he had taken back in 1395: see [Chapter 6](#)).

Having received his coveted Podillya, Vytautas did not manage to subordinate the local noblemen to him right away. In 1418 he gave lands to the local and newly settled noblemen in order to create a loyal stratum of servants. But Władysław II Jagiełło seemed to outmanoeuvre him, granting them a large part of the estates with the right of full ownership (which Vytautas had avoided doing) between 1402 and 1410 (see [Chapter 8](#)). Moreover, those noblemen and magnates who had come to Podillya during the rule of the Koriatovyches and Spytek of Melsztyn were more loyal to the king. For example, Bedrych and the Buczacki brothers, who owned the estates in the Halych land bordering Podillya, would play their part in the reclamation of Podillya by the king.

Was the struggle for the contested territory on the border worth it? Yes, it was indeed. In his book, Guillebert de Lannoy describes Gedygold's construction of a castle by the Dniester estuary opposite Bilhorod.⁴⁴ Was not that supposed to be an endeavour to establish a stronghold in order to control the trade routes? If so, then Podillya was definitely worth the efforts Vytautas made to have it.

from Moky (Boguchwalo de Moky). He is not present on the list of Terebovlya's officials by Karol Maleczyński: Karol Maleczyński, "Urzędnicy grodzcy trembowelscy 1403–1783," *Ziemia Czerwińska* 2 (1936), 306.

43 *Urzędnicy podolscy*, № 535, 119.

44 Филипп Брун, "Voyages et ambassades de Messire Guillebert de Lannoy, chevalier de la Toison d'or, Seigneur de Santes, Willerval, Tronchiennes, Beaumont et Wahégnies, 1399–1450. Mons, typ. d'Em. Ployois, 1840, in 8, 140 стр. съ картою," in *Записки одесского общества истории и древностей*, vol. 3 (Одесса, 1853), 439.

Chapter 8

THE OPENING OF AN UNKNOWN TERRITORY TO NEWCOMERS

IN THE EARLY fifteenth century King Władysław II Jagiełło, followed by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, began to grant lands in Podillya. Since western Podillya constituted the part of the Ruthenian domain of the king after the rule of Spytek of Melsztyn and of Švitrigaila, the noblemen received landholdings on condition of personal service to the king. Vytautas continued the same policies when he received the whole of Podillya after the Battle of Grunwald in 1410 (see [Chapter 7](#)). But who wanted to take possession of new estates on the contested border? Who were those people? And what is known about them? Their names and nicknames, misspelled in Latin, and probable places of origin, used as surnames in most cases, are the only available data.

Historians have always been interested in the origin of one or another person mentioned in the documents. This area of interest, speculative enough, has been exploited by every national historical narrative in order to “discover its people” on a specific territory, aiming to confirm its right to a certain area. For this purpose, a modernized (adjusted to Ukrainian or Polish pronunciation) model of names and surnames is used. Under this line of reasoning, most of the people would be newcomers, or not from Podillya, or at least non-Ruthenians. In turn, that could serve as proof of the prevalence of a specific ethnic community among all the privileged groups in Podillya. Needless to say, peasants and most of the citizens were of local origin (except for Kamyanets), though nothing is said about the origin of peasants and only a few words can be said about citizens and their birthplaces. I will analyze the recipients of land titles in Podillya to find out where they came from in order to answer the question of their origins, and to either confirm or deny a hypothesis about the predominance of non-local noblemen in Podillya. In no way is ethnicity a determining factor. Through the analysis, I will demonstrate how a careless or incorrect modernization of the spelling of the names can distort the picture of the ethnic composition of the Podolian nobility in the first decades of the fifteenth century. Unfortunately, such misrepresentations, brought about by a Narodnik¹ ideology, have been built into the grand narrative of Ukrainian historiography since the second half of the nineteenth century.

The spelling of names and nicknames/surnames is the only (though not in all cases) more or less reliable criterion that can be used to analyze the available documents. Although the documents are rarely original, the scribes tried not to distort the original form of names when copying the text. But, so as to avoid making this way of reasoning absolute, I will give an example from the Moldavian Principality, where the records were kept in the Ruthenian language, unlike the practices in the Ruthenian lands of the Polish Crown, where Latin was used in the documents. On April 23, 1441, Prince Iliáš handed

¹ Narodniks constituted a social and political movement in the Russian Empire in the late nineteenth century that aimed to overthrow the Tsar.

over “four groups of Roma entourage named as: Slav Khorloven with his entourage, and Nikola with his entourage, Keliman with his entourage, and Byzyla with his entourage” to a monastery in Polene.² On May 7, 1443, Prince Ștefan appointed Tatars at the service to the same monastery: “Ivanchuk with his brother and with all their entourage, Chochan with his brother and their whole entourage, and Hryts with his entourage, Muntia with his entourage, Panas with his entourage, Chunak with his entourage, Schefenel with his entourage, and Tulia, the chieftain, with his whole entourage. All the abovementioned [are] Tatars.”³ Without the designations of “Romani” or “Tatars,” some persons, namely Ivanchuk (Іванчук), Ivanko (Іванко), Hryts (Гриць), and Panas (Панас), would be considered Ruthenians; therefore, disregarding the designations in the documents would distort the picture of their origin. Thus, even a name, being a reliable criterion, cannot be used as exhaustive evidence of one’s origin in the late Middle Ages in Podillya, as well as in the Ruthenian lands of the Crown.

A few words should be said about the second half of the fourteenth century before proceeding to the first decades of the fifteenth. Although there are only a few sources from the time of the Koriatovyches and Spytek of Melsztyn, one can at least speak of the personal staff of the Koriatovyches. Their inner circle was a mosaic, though there are few records about those people in the sources of that time. Analysis of their names indicates that some of them came from the west, which was mentioned in Hodko Chemerets’s document (1399): “[A]nd many other good people were present: Polyans and Rus.”⁴

Among the witnesses of the Koriatovyches’ documents, a few families and even fewer individuals made careers in Podillya under the subsequent rulers. One of them is Bedrych (Bedryszka), who received four villages in Skala County from Prince Fedir in 1392. Born in Silesia, he belonged to the Świerczyk family, so his heirs were called Świercz. Bedrych seemed to have come to Podillya during the rule of Vladislaus II of Opole, since most of the families using this coat of arms were from the surrounding area of Namysłów and Opole.⁵ His son, Mikołaj Bedrych (or simply Bedrych; this is the reason why, in earlier literature, they were confused and thought to be one person), received numerous landholdings during the rule of Vytautas (1411–1430) and held a prominent place among the local magnates. No wonder he was mentioned in sources as the first castellan of Kamyanets (1436/37–1441).⁶ A Silesian “diaspora” also included Bedrych’s distant relative Adam from Świerczkowice, and Paszko Busłowicz.⁷

2 *Documenta Romaniae historica: A. Moldova*, vol. 1: (1384–1448), № 214, 299.

3 *Ibid.*, № 299, 322.

4 Розов, *Українські грамоти*, № 32, 58–59.

5 Juliusz Dunikowski, “O rodzie Świerczków na Rusi w wieku XV i początkach rodziny Dunikowskich,” *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny* 10, no. 10 (1931), 222–23.

6 See correct first date for this office: Janusz Kurtyka, “Wierność i zdrada na pograniczu,” 704; *Urzednicy podolscy*, № 189, 63.

7 Busławice is a village in Racibórz district in Silesia region. See *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. 1, ed. Filip Sulimirski, Bronisław Chlebowski, and Władysław Walewski (Warszawa, 1880), 481.

A comparison of witnesses in the documents of the Koriatovyches with the sources from the second half of the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth shows the inner circle of the brothers in more detail. They collaborated with Prince Vasyl Vynnytsky, a number of local magnates, magnates from Ruthenian lands (in particular, from Peremyshl), magnates from Polish territories, as can be seen from their names and surnames/nicknames containing the place of origin. This group includes Bernard Mieszkowski, Jakuszek Skepecki, and Franczek.⁸ The presence of Silesians in the group demonstrates that they had contacts and collaborated with Vladislaus II of Opole when he ruled over the Ruthenian domain of the king from 1372 to 1378. It also might be an indication of a number of knights errant wandering eastwards, either in search of service or because of being landless.

This brief overview shows that new people entered the noble corporation in Podillya as early as the second half of the fourteenth century. Besides, German citizens, people from the Golden Horde (first of all, the Kierdey family) and, probably, natives of Moldavia Principality resided both in Kamyanets and Smotrych (see [Chapter 3](#)). At the beginning of the fifteenth century Podillya was a place where people from various ethnic and religious groups met. They were supposed to face the challenges of living in a completely different ethnocultural and religious milieu. One can only guess how many of them changed their ethnic identities—first, they became Ruthenians and then, probably, Poles. The issue of the choice of religion is even more complicated, as shown in the case of the Kierdeys, a Tatar family. One part of the family converted to Catholicism rather rapidly, as evidenced by the family chapel in the Lviv Catholic Cathedral, while the other part, in contrast, having settled in the Chełm land and Volhynia, became Eastern Orthodox Ruthenians, as illustrated by their history.⁹

At the end of the fourteenth century and in the first decades of the fifteenth it seems that the contested territory of Podillya brought together several social values and legal practice: service to the king in exchange for a local land ownership, documenting the land ownership rights, the cost of land, and the perception of service as an unavoidable necessity. It led to the emergence of a local hierarchical elite that consisted of the local gentry, boyars, and foreign noblemen.

Władysław II Jagiełło's Men

During his rule over western Podillya in the fifteenth century Władysław II Jagiełło granted estates of land to those who came from Lesser Poland and those he knew personally, namely Piotr Szafraniec and Hrytsko Kierdeyovych. The others might be divided

⁸ See biograms: Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота*, 44, 46.

⁹ About the Kierdeys, see Венедикт Площанский, “Кердеи и Кереевичи XIV–XV в. (По данным историков и суд. акт. книг),” in *Труды Десятого Археологического съезда в Риге 1896*, vol. 1, ed. Прасковья Уварова (Москва, 1899), 277–89; and Наталя Яковенко, *Українська шляхта з кінця XIV—до середини XVII століття: Волинь і Центральна Україна*, 2nd edn (Київ: Критика, 2008), 140–45, 146–48.

into several groups: “Ruthenians” and “Ruthenized Tatars,” “Poles,” “Wallachians,” “Hungarians,” etc. They are the ones who were mentioned in land title documents from 1402 to 1410/13 (see [Table 1](#)). The division into several groups is conditional and demonstrates the possibilities, albeit limited, to identify people’s ethnic origin in the documents from Ukrainian lands in the late Middle Ages. As seen from the list, the nobility was quite a heterogeneous group in Podillya. It was the contested territory for which the Kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuanian, the Kingdom of Hungary, Moldavian Principality, and the Tatars (who had not yet established a state in that part of the Golden Horde) fought that brought all those different people together and gave them a shared identity.

As can be seen, the provisional “Ruthenians” and “Ruthenized Tatars” groups included Lavrin, alias Shulha, Hodko, Jakush and Klementiy from Manykivtci, Vasyl and Hrytsko Andronykovich, Hrytsko Kierdeyovich, and Andriy from Babshyn. The group of “Poles” was not smaller and consisted of Piotr named Kaczorek, Piotr Szafraniec, Piotr named Białożorzec, Tomek from Komorniki, Fredro from Pleszowice, Bogusław alias Jarant from Głuchów, Imram from Czulice. Senko, the brother of Volos, can be provisionally identified as a “Wallachian,” Stepan (Stefan) Uhryn as “Hungarian.” The others—Ioan (Ivan) Pudlo, Isaak, and Niczko (Miczko) Karaulski—belong to the undetermined group. As can be seen from the table, the newcomers from other ethnic areas outnumbered Ruthenians and Ruthenian Tatars. The latter also includes Hrytsko Kierdeyovich, on the basis of the spelling of his name, despite his religious conversion. Hrytsko’s case demonstrates that classification is challenging and quite complicated.

Lavrin, alias Shulha, the son of Andriy, the owner of Yarmolyntsi Hodko, Vasyl and Hrytsko Andronykovich, and perhaps Andriy from Babshyn were Ruthenians, as well as Jakush and Klementiy from Manykivtci (40 kilometres southwest of Letychiv), based on the location of their villages in Podillya. Thus, all of them are identified as Ruthenians on the basis of at least three criteria: their names, their nicknames, and their places of origin, located either in Podillya or the former Ruthenian Kingdom. There is some doubt about the Ruthenian origin of Niczko (according to the document’s editors, Miczko) Karaulski, since Karaul is a place located on the Black Sea shore. Janusz Kurtyka has assumed that Niczko served as an official in the castle at Karaul,¹⁰ which was, in theory, under the control of Vytautas or Władysław II Jagiełło. It is hardly possible to determine the ethnicity of Karaul Castle’s inhabitants.

The provisional “Poles” group consisted of seven persons. Four of them can be identified easily: Piotr Szafraniec, a member of a then well-known branch of the Starykoń family; Fredro from Pleszowice, of the Bończa family of arms; a nobleman of Lesser Poland, Imram from Czulice; and Tomek from Komorniki (according to the document’s editors, he was from Komorniki, near Wieluń). Piotr named Kaczorek and Piotr named Białożorzec are included in this group based on their nicknames (Kaczorek and Białożorzec), while Bogusław, alias Jarant, from Głuchów, is included on the basis of his

10 Kurtyka, “Repertorium podolskie: Dokumenty do 1430 roku,” № 84, 183.

Table 1 Recipients of landholdings in Podillya granted by Władysław II Jagiełło on condition of military service, 1402–1413

No	Name of landowner and social status	Number of armed men landowner could offer on demand	Source
1	Ioan (Ivan) Pudlo 1403 (<i>fidelium obsequiorum Iohannis Pudlo</i>)	<i>Duabus lancies et quattuor sagittariis</i>	ZDM, vol. 6, № 1660
2	Piotr named Kaczorek 1403 (<i>fidelium obsequiorum Petri dicti Kaczorek</i>)	<i>Una lancea et duobus sagittariis</i>	Ibid., № 1661
3	Piotr Szafraniec 1404 (<i>fidelium obsequiorum strenui Petri Schafraniecz, subdapiferi Cracouiensis</i>)	<i>Sex lanceis et duodecim ballistariis</i>	KDM, vol. 4, № 1079
4	Piotr named Białozorzec 1404 (<i>nobis Petrus Byalorzozecz dictus</i>)	<i>Una lanceae quator sagittariis</i>	ZDM, vol. 6, № 1675
5	Lavrin, alias Shulha, the son of Andriy named Shulha 1405 (<i>Laurencius alias Suchlha, filium olim Andree dicti Suchlha</i>)	–	Ibid., № 1688
6	Tomek from Komorniki 1406 (<i>fidelium obsequiorum Thomconis de Comorniky familiaris nostri fidelis</i>)	<i>Una lancia et duobus sagittariis</i>	Ibid., № 1694
7	Hodko (recipient of Yarmolyntsi) 1407 (<i>sluze naszimu Chodkowi</i>)	<i>Kopyem a dwima strilczoma</i>	Ibid., № 1700
8	Isaak 1407 (<i>sludze nassemu Issaku</i>)	<i>Dwyema st(rzel)czy</i>	Pułaski, “Stare osady,” 124–25
9	Fredro (recipient of Kadyiovtsi) 1407 (<i>fidelis noster Fridro; sluga nasz wierny Fredro</i>)	–	ZDM, vol. 6, № 1704
10	Jakush from Manykivtci, and Klementiy, the stepson of Jakush 1407 (<i>fidelitatem et obsequia Iacussii de Manicowcze ipsi ac eius privigno Clementi</i>)	<i>Una lancea et tribus sagittariis</i>	Ibid., № 1706
11	Bogusław alias Jarant from Głuchów 1407 (<i>Boguslao alias Jaranth de Gluchow</i>)	–	Kurtyka, “Repertorium podolskie,” № 76
12	Stepan (Stefan) Uhryn 1409 (<i>sluzie nassomv Stepanu Vhrinu</i>)	<i>Kopiem a dwiema strzelczoma</i>	ZDM, vol. 6, № 1723

(continued)

Table 1 (Cont.)

No	Name of landowner and social status	Number of armed men landowner could offer on demand	Source
13	Imram from Czulice 1409 (<i>Imram de Czulice</i>)	–	Kurtyka, “Repertorium podolskie,” № 79
14	Vasyl and Hrytsko Andronikovyches 1409 (<i>servitoribus nostris Waszilowi Andronikovicz er eius fratri Hriczv</i>)	<i>Hasta et duobus sagitariis</i>	ZDM, vol. 6, № 1732
15	Hrytsko Kierdeyovych 1410 (<i>fidelitatis insignia, quibus Ryczko Kyrdeyowicz erga nostram</i>)	<i>Duabus lanceis et sex sagittariis</i>	Грушевський, “Матеріали,” № 14, 156–57
16	Niczko (Miczko) named Karaulski 1410 (<i>servitori nostro Niczko Karaulski</i>)	<i>Nostram hasta et cum duobus sagittariis</i>	ZDM, vol. 6, № 1736
17	Senko, the brother of Volos 1410 (<i>sluze naszemu Senku Wolosowu bratu</i>)	<i>Konem i dwema strelcy</i>	Pobóg-Górski, <i>Powiat mohylowski</i> , 173
18	Fredro from Pleszowice 1410 (<i>servitiis fidelibus, quibus generosus Fredro de Pleschovicze terrigena noster</i>)	<i>Una hasta et duobus ballistariis decenter armatis</i>	ZDM, vol. 6, № 1749
19	Andriy from Babshyn 1413 (<i>nobilis Andreas de Bapschin fidelis noster</i>)	<i>Una hasta et uno sagittario</i>	ZDM, vol. 6, № 1778
20	N. N., probably the ancestor of Kalenyk Harenych 1402–1411	<i>Una hasta et duobus sagittariis</i>	“Bona Regalia,” 53

second (?) name and place of his origin, since most of the sites with this place name are located within Polish territories.¹¹

Stepan (Stefan) Ugryn seems to be a Hungarian or to come from Hungarian territories. Perhaps he arrived at Podillya in the time of the Koriatovyches. The ethnicity of Isaak is difficult to determine. Similarly, it is not easy to define Jan (Ioan, Ivan) Pudlo's origin, given that the word *pudlo* (пудло) is derived from German.¹²

¹¹ See *SGKP*, vol. 2 (Warszawa, 1881), 612–14. One of the settlements, named Głuchów, is situated in Kraków Voivodeship.

¹² See Samuel Bogusław Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 2, cz. 2: *P–S* (Warszawa, 1811), 1271.

Despite the different ethnic and territorial origin of these men, they all lost their status of strangers quickly enough. Fredro from Pleszowice (a village of Peremyshl land) might serve as a good illustration. He managed to receive two landholdings over the course of Władysław II Jagiełło's rule over Podillya. In the first land title document (issued in two versions, Ruthenian and Latin) he is called "our servant" (see Table 1), while the second document indicates that he is from Pleszowice (Pleshevychi), Peremyshl land,¹³ which makes it harder to understand whether he identified himself with Podillya or not. However, the fact that Fredro is more linked to Peremyshl land in the subsequent documents dating from the 1420s makes it possible to claim that the template of the document could often override the realities of a person's identity. Moreover, the very document in question was copied no earlier than 1423, as seen from the list of witnesses.¹⁴

The duties of landowners in Podillya indicated in Table 1 could change, as demonstrated in the land title documents from the neighbouring area, the prospective Ruthenian Voivodeship. In his research, Yuriy Zazulyak shows several cases when lands for Hodko Loyovych, Mykolay from Sopova (1389), Michał Awdaniec from Buchach (1392), to name but a few, were given without the requirement of military service. It was added only in 1417 over the course of the king's inspection, when such duties were included in the documents.¹⁵ I was unable to trace any similar cases in Podillya due to the lack of documents. But it does not mean that such documents never existed.

The fact that the preserved land title documents mention only one person holding a district office—the Kraków *podstoli* (Lord High Steward) Piotr Szafraniec, who was given the landholdings—should not be allowed to mislead us. As seen from the list of offices' hierarchy, since the middle of the fourteenth century the Ruthenian lands had gradually started to institutionalize district (*zemstvo*) and court offices. A similar structure existed in Podillya at the time of the Koriatovyches, since "starosta," "voivode," "cup-bearer," and "scribe" can be found in the documents of that time.¹⁶

The territory in question was supposed to have a number of administrative offices responsible for implementing orders and administering a tax collection system. Later, the

13 ZDM, vol. 6, № 1749, 333.

14 Kazimierz Przyboś, "Fredrowie herbu Bończa domus antiqui moris virtutisque cultrix," in *Rocznik polskiego towarzystwa heraldycznego*, nowej serii 3 (14), ed. Stefan K. Kuczyński (Warszawa: DiG, 1997), 78. On the critique concerning the dating of the document, see in *Каталог пергаментних документів Центрального державного історичного архіву УРСР у Львові 1233–1799*, ed. Олег Купчинський and Едуард Ружицький (Київ: Наукова думка, 1972), № 51, 49. This document is published: ZDM, vol. 6, № 1749, 333. Janusz Kurtyka agreed with the statement of the editors of the Catalogue of Parchment Documents about the indicated witnesses and date: Kurtyka, "Repertorium podolskie: Dokumenty do 1430 roku," № 87, 185–86.

15 Юрій Зазуляк, "Навколо полеміки про феодалізм на Галичині XIV–XV ст.," *Ruthenica* 5 (2006), 175. These records made in 1417 were later mentioned in 1590 during the recovery of the Pavlo and Mykolay from Kuropativ's documents, lost after Tatar invasions, in the possession of the village of Koydaniv (initially granted to Michał Abdank in 1392); see AGAD, MK, sygn. 133, k. 434–36.

16 Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота*, 36–38.

adoption of new practices, related to the tradition of the Hungarian or Polish Kingdoms, led the Ruthenian domain of the king to introduce Crown (Polish) law, which is confirmed by the letter of the authorized Peremyshl Judge Kost' (the letter dated to sometime between 1386 and 1404). As a royal representative, in his letter to the king he reports on the tax collection in Peremyshl, Jarosław, and Łańcut districts, on the differences in the rights of free peasants under the Ruthenian, Crown, and Magdeburg (German) legal systems, and on various duties and fees for particular services.¹⁷ Therefore, a Ruthenian administrative system was not only functioning, it was also recognized. Given the lack of Podolian sources, I would suggest that such practices were supposed to exist in Podillya at the time of the Koriatovyches and Spytek of Melsztyn; however, Władysław II Jagiełło had to update them before 1402.

The nomenclature of the king's representatives included the starostas of Podillya, who were prominent and powerful noblemen, coming mainly from Lesser Poland. They held the office of starosta, as seen in sources, just for a short time: Dzierśław Konopka from Koźuchow of the Bogoria family (1402), Rafał from Słupów and Włostowice of the Leliwa family (1402), Piotr Szafraniec from Piaskowa Skała of the Starykoń family (1404), Florian from Korytnica of the Jelita family (1405), Piotr Karwacian from Radomin of the Pierzchała family (1407), Andrzej from Tęczyn of the Topór family (1407–1410), and Piotr Włodkowic from Charbinowice of the Sulima family (1410–1411)¹⁸. This list demonstrates that Władysław II Jagiełło appointed those who came from Lesser Poland and, first and foremost, had held district offices, and preferably had previous experience of serving as starostas in the neighbouring Ruthenian territories—for instance, Piotr Włodkowic, who held the office of starosta of Halych from 1401 to 1404.¹⁹

We do not know whether any of the starostas mentioned above received landholdings—except for Piotr Szafraniec—for their service. Most likely, they all aimed to and, perhaps, held some estates in Podillya to promote their own interests on the new (from the Polish nobility's point of view) territories, as Spytek of Melsztyn did. But they all shared one notable thing: they all received advances in the hierarchy of offices in the Kingdom of Poland.²⁰ I would suggest that the king-appointed starostas of Podillya, taking into account their origin, came to the region together with their inner circle of men, as shown with the case of Dzierśław Konopka belonging to Spytek of Melsztyn's entourage. Besides, managing Piotr Szafraniec's spacious estate in Podillya probably required people he could trust and who could not be local—at least, not from the beginning of Piotr's office.

The landholdings bestowed on Piotr Szafraniec were, to my mind, the crucial ones for Podillya in the period after Spytek's rule, since the number and size of estates he received are astonishing. It is hard to imagine how a magnate from Lesser Poland, without knowing Podillya, could navigate the land tenure situation or even be aware of what was taking place in such a distant region (800 kilometres, or two weeks' travel, east from his hereditary

17 Розов, *Українські грамоти*, № 18, 33–35.

18 *Urzędnicy podolscy*, № 528–34, 116–19; Kurtyka, "Wierność i zdrada," 707.

19 *Urzędnicy województwa ruskiego*, № 326, 66.

20 *Urzędnicy podolscy*, № 528–34, 116–19.

estates). Piotr was born to a powerful family from Lesser Poland. His father, also named Piotr, took an active part in Władysław II Jagiełło's enthronement in 1385. Having used his reputation at the royal court and the office of the court steward (since 1399),²¹ Piotr managed to receive these generous fiefs when the debt had been paid off to Spytek's widow and descendants. It was compensation for Szafraniec's unsuccessful attempt to purchase Rabsztyn Castle, with its villages, for 1,000 hryvnias from Spytek's widow.²²

Władysław II Jagiełło, in turn, attempted to hold this part of Podillya in his own right by giving large estates as fiefs to people close to him. Bestowing on Szafraniec the office of starosta of Kamyanets, the king encouraged him to manage the territory, which was new to both of them. In all probability the king aimed to demarcate Podillya from Volhynian and Kyivan land to the north, which is testified by his granting of estates in the surrounding area of today's Vinnytsya (the village of Myzyakiv).²³ Moreover, after the flight of Švitrigaila, the territory had to be governed by a loyal supporter of the king, as Piotr Szafraniec had always been.

Aiming to reinforce his holding of Podillya, Władysław II Jagiełło relied on a number of loyal people, such as Piotr Szafraniec, Florian from Korytnica, Piotr Karwacian from Radomin, Andrzej from Tęczyn, and Piotr Włodkowiec from Charbinowice. However, they performed their duties only for a short term. Some of them were experienced in Ruthenian and international affairs (Piotr Włodkowiec), while others had influence at court (Piotr Szafraniec). Only a few, as far as we know, received estates in Podillya, besides the landholdings granted to Szafraniec.

Władysław II Jagiełło's main goal was to control the territory that was strategic from his perspective and compel the Koriatovyches to renounce their rights to Podillya in written form, which he achieved in 1403. The latter coincided with the purchase of western Podillya from Spytek of Melsztyn's widow. Meanwhile, the assignation of lands in western Podillya to the noblemen loyal to the king, of which quite a few came from outside Ruthenian lands, built a critical mass of pro-Western nobility. This factor altered the history of Podillya in the short run. It seems that one should also take into account the neighbouring Halych land, with its strong local nobles, such as the Buczacki brothers and Kola from Daleyov (Dalejów) and their clients, who contributed additional human capital to the formation of a pro-Polish bloc in Podillya.

Vytautas's Men

Vytautas received from Władysław II Jagiełło the entire region of Podillya in gratitude for his service during the military campaign of 1410, especially for his courage at the

²¹ Jerzy Sperka, *Szafraniecowie herbu Stary Koń: Z dziejów kariery i awansu w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2001), 51–69.

²² Sperka, "Działalność polityczna Piotra i Jana Szafranców," 97.

²³ Віталій Михайловський, "Велика земельна власність на Західному Поділлі у XV ст. (на прикладі документів для Шафранців і Одровонжів)," in *Kamieniec Podolski: Studia z dziejów miasta i regionu*, vol. 2, ed. Feliks Kiryk (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2005), 90–98.

Battle of Grunwald, on July 15. It was the last period in Podillya's history when the region was under the rule of one ruler. This twenty-year period has become the basis for the emergence of historiographical stereotypes, to the effect that Vytautas acted entirely in the interests of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which some historians have unreasonably called pro-Ruthenian.

The issue of analyzing the persons who received land privileges from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is complex, as a significant number of Vytautas's documents cannot be dated due to the lack of original documentation. The copies are dated with the help of phrases such as "during the rule of Vytautas," particularly when the documents come from eastern Podillya. The majority of land assignments are mentioned in documents of a later time, from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. During the Sejm in 1581 the local noblemen launched a large-scale campaign to restore their land title documents lost after the fire in Vinnytsya Castle in 1580, where they had been stored, as it was considered a safe place. It was stated in the copies that the original documents had been given during the rule of Vytautas over Podillya—that is, between 1410 and 1430. But the situation is not that simple.

Since the time of Nikandr Molchanovsky, the historiography describes Vytautas as the ruler who managed, if only for a brief time, to stop the expansion of the Polish nobility into Podillya, while the Lithuanians and the Ruthenians colonized (to use a term of that time) the barren lands. As Molchanovsky said,

Only Vytautas, a powerful politician, managed to prevent, till the end of his life, the looming threat and stop the forward movement of Poles to the western part of our land [Podillya]. That success was achieved, first of all, by increasing the number of people from both Lithuanian and Ruthenian lands after 1410 and until his death, whereas the incorporation of the Poles into the gentry of Podillya totally ceased.²⁴

This lengthy quote from Molchanovsky demonstrates the ideological connotations of the anti-Polish rhetoric concerning the history of Ukraine, rather than Podillya.

Almost one hundred years later the Polish historian Tadeusz Trajdos reiterated, though without his grandeur, Molchanovsky's thesis on the predominance of the Ruthenians among the recipients of land assignments from Vytautas. According to Trajdos, Vytautas tended to form a circle of supporters to oppose the Polish (or pro-Crown) nobility by granting fiefs in exchange for service.²⁵ Janusz Kurtyka has also inclined to this view, arguing that Vytautas followed this policy by buying Piotr Szafraniec's vast estate, which had been given by Władysław II Jagiełło in 1404 as a fiefdom, for 1,000 kopas of Prague groschens.²⁶ But it might have been that Szafraniec could not afford to maintain a large estate so distant from his main landholdings in Kraków Voivodeship, and therefore sold it to Vytautas.

²⁴ Молчановский, *Очерк известий*, 318–19.

²⁵ Tadeusz Trajdos, *Kościół Katolicki na ziemiach ruskich Korony i Litwy za panowania Władysława II Jagiełły (1386–1434)*, vol. 1 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1983), 160.

²⁶ Kurtyka, "Podole pomiędzy," 37; Михайловський, "Велика земельна власність," 90–98.

Paradoxically, historiography ascribes Vytautas a large assignation of lands to the Catholic diocese in Kamyanets in 1429,²⁷ when Paweł from Bojańczyce was serving as the bishop of Kamyanets. According to Długosz, Bishop Paweł took an active part in taking Kamyanets and western Podillya back under the rule of Władysław II Jagiełło in 1430. The support of the Orthodox Church in Kamyanets and Podillya seems logical, but the assignations to the Orthodox Church are unknown, not to mention the fact that its history in Podillya in the second half of the fourteenth century and the fifteenth has to be based on only a few sources, making the task of compiling its history virtually impossible.²⁸

Let us address the hypothesis of a pro-Ruthenian policy of Vytautas by using [Table 2](#), which features the recipients of land titles in Podillya.

The table shows that landholdings used to be given for cash collateral. The practice of cash collateral or deposit landholdings was first introduced in the period from 1419 to 1430, and Vytautas seems to have been the first to implement such a type of land tenure in Podillya, which was widely used in Ruthenian lands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Without burdening the treasury of the ruler, cash collateral served as a fee for service and a stable source of cash inflow for the treasury (even providing a modest surplus), and at the same time ensuring the defence of the region to some extent.

By the way, there is no single document illustrating the land assignations with cash deposits between 1402 and 1413, before Vytautas's rule. Implementation of this form of land assignation policy had an impact on the consequent structuring of Podolian nobility. Perhaps the proportion of people having cash or certain assets, which could be used as a guarantee, increased. Moreover, the extension of one's own estates (as the Kierdeys, magnates from Buchach, and the heirs of Bedrych from Bedrychowiec and Domarat from Śliadków did after 1430) became a means for class differentiation on the basis of property.

Having united Podillya under his rule, Vytautas tried to implement the kind of land assignation policy that could better tie western Podillya to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. According to Janusz Kurtyka, his policy can be seen in assignations granted not only in Podolian western counties (Chervonohrod, Kamyanets, Smotrych, Bakota, and Skala) but also in its eastern counties—Letychiv, Bratslav, Vinnytsya, and Khmilnyk—covering in such a way the entire territory of the region.²⁹ Following this logic of Kurtyka, Vytautas had to pay more attention to the western part of Podillya, which he did, but the recipients of land should have been individuals loyal to him, not those who had connections to either the duke or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

27 Perhaps some part of the Catholic Church's estate in Podillya was given by Vytautas, but other settlements were given by Jan I Olbracht and Aleksander I in 1498 and 1502, respectively; see *Vitoldiana*, № 228, 206–7. For a critique of the document, see Kurtyka, "Repertorium podolskie: Dokumenty do 1430 roku," № 187, 230.

28 See more in Ігор Сковчи́ляс, *Галицька (Львівська) єпархія XII–XVIII ст.: Організаційна структура та правовий статус* (Львів: Видавництво Українського Католицького Університету, 2010), 168.

29 Kurtyka, "Podole pomiędzy," 36–37.

Table 2 Vytautas's assignments, the specification of assignments, the size of deposits, and the sites

Year	Recipient name	Specification	Size of deposit (mortgage)	Site	Source ^a
1418	Hryhoriy Shyp from Davydivtsi	<i>Possidendum, utifruendumque</i>	60 hryvnias of Podillya half-groschens	Two villages	<i>Vitoldiana</i> , № 94
1420	Hryhoriy Bakhavsky	–	100 hryvnias of [Podillya half-groschens?] coins	Two villages	AGAD, tzw. ML, dz. IV B, sygn. 17, k. 19v–20
1420	Mikołaj Bedrych	<i>Locare et aliis utilitates</i>	40 hryvnias of [Podillya half-groschens?] coins	Barren	AGAD, tzw. ML, dz. IV B, sygn. 17, k. 197v–98
1421	Teodoryk of Buczac	–	20 kopas of groschens	Barren	AGAD, Perg. syng. 8832
1422	Janusz	<i>Utifruendum et pacifice possidendum</i>	60 hryvnias of Podillya half-groschens	Barren, with an aim to establish a village	<i>Vitoldiana</i> , № 98
Before Sep. 2 1424	Kudzey	–	–	Village	<i>Vitoldiana</i> , № 104
Before Sep. 2 1424	Mikołaj Bedrychovych	–	50 hryvnias	Village	<i>Vitoldiana</i> , № 104
1424	Teodoryk of Buczac	–	–	Four villages	<i>Vitoldiana</i> , № 77
1424	Teodoryk of Buczac	–	100 hryvnias of Podillya half-groschens	Two villages	AGAD, tzw. ML, dz. IV B, sygn. 17, k. 165–165v
1427	Hanusz Goślowski	–	50 hryvnias of Podillya half-groschens	Village	<i>Vitoldiana</i> , № 108
1427	Esko Neshevykh	<i>осяжувати єму і собі і розпахувати собі</i>	50 hryvnias of Podillya half-groschens	Barren	<i>Vitoldiana</i> , № 109
1427	Ivashko Hynkovych	<i>utifruendum et pacifice possidendum</i>	100 hryvnias of Podillya half-groschens	Village	<i>Vitoldiana</i> , № 110

Table 2 (Cont.)

Year	Recipient name	Specification	Size of deposit (mortgage)	Site	Source ^a
1428	Mykolay Ivan Bozha from Babyntsi	–	30 hryvnias of Podillya's coins	Village	AGAD, tzw. ML, Dz. IV B, sygn. 17, k. 51
1429	–	–	30 kopas	Village	AGAD, tzw. ML, Dz. IV B, sygn. 17, k. 165
1429	Bedrych	–	60 kopas of Podillya half-groschens	Two villages	<i>Vitoldiana</i> , № 112
1430	Volos	–	100 kopas of Ruthenian half-groschens	Village and two courtyards	<i>Vitoldiana</i> , № 119
No date	Hryhoriy Bakhavsky	–	110 kopas of groschens	Three villages	<i>ZDM</i> , vol. 8, № 2215
No date	–	–	–	Territory	<i>Vitoldiana</i> , № 140
No date	Hryhoriy Bakhavsky	–	60 kopas of groschens	Village	<i>ZDM</i> , vol. 8, № 2215

a The bibliography of these documents' publications is particularly vast. I refer only to the latest editions and archives for the unpublished documents.

A related question is the proportion of Ruthenian, mainly local boyars and, perhaps, Lithuanian boyars among the recipients of land titles in western Podillya. From 1418 through 1430 the documents mention only twelve persons, of whom Hryhoriy Bakhavsky, Mikołaj Bedrych, and Teodoryk of Buczacz are famous. Information on the remaining people from the list is either scarce or non-existent. We cannot identify the ethnic origin of Kudzey using his name only, because the copy of the document was made in the 1560s, so his name might have been misspelled at least two times. Table 3 includes the hypothetical ethnic origin of those who received landholdings from Vytautas.

As seen in the table, representatives of the Ruthenian nobility received twelve estates, Poles sixteen, an unidentified person (Volos—perhaps this is the Volos whose brother Senko received the village of Lyadava from Władysław II Jagiełło in 1410)³⁰ three. The ratio prompts us to be more cautious with the assumptions of pro-Ruthenian, pro-Lithuanian, or any other course of land-granting policy of Vytautas in western Podillya, as stated in the historiography on the issue in question.

Table 3 Hypothetical ethnic origin of the recipients of landholdings, 1418–1430

Name	Number of bestowments	Ethnic origin	Justification for the assumption of ethnic origin
Hryhorii Shyp from Davydivtsi	2	Ruthenian	Name
Hryhorii Bakhavsky	6	Ruthenian	His sons Ivan (Jan) and Petro signed the oath of Podillya's szlachta (noblemen) in 1439 ^a
Mikołaj Bedrych	3	Pole	Born in Silesia, Świerczek family of arms; 1438–1441 the castellan of Kamyanets ^b
Janusz	1	Pole (?)	Name
Kudzey	1	Ruthenian (?)	Name
Teodoryk of Buczacz	11	Pole	The Abdank family of arms; 1442–1455 the castellan of Kamyanets, the starosta of Podillya ^c
Hanusz (Janusz) Gostawski	1	Pole	Name
Esko Neshevych	1	Ruthenian	Name
Ivashko Hynkovych	1	Ruthenian	Name. From 1456 belonged to the Abdank family of arms, ^d a client of the Buczackis
Mykolay Ivan Bozha from Babyntsi	1	Ruthenian	Name
Volos (Болос)	3	Romanian (?)	Nickname

a Janusz Kurtyka, "Z dziejów walki szlachty ruskiej o równouprawnienie: Represji lat 1426–1427 i sejmiki roku 1439," *Roczniki Historyczne* 56 (2000), 112 [*sigillum tredecium Pobodze*].

b *Urzednicy podolscy*, № 189, 63–64.

c *Ibid.*, № 190, 544.

d *AGZ*, vol. 12 (Lwów, 1887), № 2776, 244–45.

Taking into account the pro-Crown political orientation of Teodoryk of Buczacz, who received more lands than any other recipient in Table 3, the case looks completely different. With the giving of lands to Teodoryk, Vytautas aimed to appease the leaders of the pro-Crown group of the local nobility. Nevertheless, as one can see from the later events, Teodoryk of Buczacz, his brother Michał, Michał Mużyło, and Hrytsko Kierdeyovych would become a primary driving force for a remarkably swift restoration of the king's authority over Podillya after the death of Vytautas in 1430.

Elaborating on the land assignments, let us take a look at one land title document, which may change our views on Vytautas's approach to governing in Podillya and move back the date of when the special functions of the starosta of Kamyanets, the main representative of the ruler, were introduced.

The Central Archive of Historical Records in Warsaw houses a parchment signed in Chervonohrod on May 19, 1421 (*Datum et actum in Czyrvanigrod feria secunda post festum Sancti trinite M CCCC XXI*). The document was presented on behalf of Gedygold self-designated as the starosta general of Podillya (*Gedegoldi capita[ne]i Podolie g[e]n[e]ralis*) for Teodoryk of Buczacz (*generoso Theodorico de Buczacz*), who received Drohychiv (*villam vasstitas Drohyczow*) in Chervonohrod County (*districtu Czyrwonogrodiensi*) on the Dniester River (*in fluvio Nyestr*) for 20 kopas of groschens (*viginti sexage.*). The witnesses of the document are noble (*presentibus nobilibus*): "Shchenyts [?] from Novoselets, Tyshna from Beremyany, Hryhoriy Shyp from Davydivtsi, [...] from Budyavtsi, Petro from Svenychi, Oleshko from Lastivtsi, and Hryhoriy from Bydlotozovtsi [?]."³¹

This land title is the only document available today that was presented by Gedygold in western Podillya, in which he unexpectedly called himself the starosta general of Podillya. Why did he use the word "general" in his title? According to the sources, he was not the starostageneral at that time. The use of such a designation could confirm my earlier argument that the office of starosta general was legally established in 1442, but, in fact, the Podolian representatives of the king used the designation of Kamyanets (Podolian) starosta general starting from the 1430s.³² Similarly, in the neighbouring territory of the king's Ruthenian domain, Spytek of Tarnow used the title of starosta general of Ruthenia (*capitaneo nostro Russie generale: 1422; protunc capitaneo nostro Leopoliensi generali: 1424*).³³ Perhaps Gedygold followed the lead of Spytek of Tarnow, or a scribe borrowed a familiar document template from the neighbouring territory.

The only witness of the document who can be clearly identified is Hryhoriy Shyp from Davydivtsi, the owner of the villages of Lysivtsi and Nabokivtsi in the same Chervonohrod County.³⁴ Since the document was damaged, the others can be identified either in connection with a settlement, such as Oleshko from Lastivtsi, or as owners from Novoselytsi and Beremyan. Most of the settlements mentioned in the document are in Chervonohrod County, as well as the village of Drohychiv (today's Drohychivka). Therefore, a few more people could be considered members of the Podolian nobility. Most of them were Ruthenians, but none received any landholdings from Vytautas, except for Hryhoriy Shyp from Davydivtsi.

31 AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, sygn. 8832.

32 The first mention of the king-appointed starosta of Podillya with the usage of the word "general" in his title dated June 6, 1431: AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich, sygn. 32 "Inwentarz Archiwum Koronnego z lat 1567–1569", s. 933. About this case, see Віталій Михайловський, "Початки уряду кам'янецького генерального старости (1431–1446 рр.)," *Київська старовина* 3 (2001), 164.

33 *Привілеї міста Львова (XIV–XVIII ст.)*, ed. Мирон Капраль (Львів, 1998), № 21, 67; № 23, 73.

34 *Vitoldiana*, № 94, 89–90.

Before concluding, I would like to say a few words about the representatives of Vytautas in Podillya. From 1411 to 1430 the following people were appointed starostas of Kamyanets (Podillya) by Vytautas: Yuriy (Jerzy) Gedygold (1411–1423), Petro Montygerdovych (1424–1425), and Jan (Ivan) Dovgird (1426–1430).³⁵ After the death of Vytautas the latter was removed from his post when the Buczacki brothers, Hrytsko Kierdeyovych, and Krystyn from Gałów took control over Kamyanets. Little is known about their performing the starosta's functions, as information about their activities is limited to mentions as witnesses of documents and in the chronicles and annals about the events of that time.

In his travel notes, Guillebert de Lannoy mentioned Gedygold while describing a welcome reception in Kamyanets in 1421.³⁶ Moreover, Gedygold was one of Vytautas's confidants in various international affairs. He participated in Vytautas's negotiations with the Hungarian king in 1412 and the embassy at the Council of Constance in 1416. He was also one of the negotiators with the king in 1429, 1431, and 1432.³⁷ In addition, he was entrusted with governing Podillya, which indicates his close cooperation with Vytautas.

It is noteworthy that Gedygold was one of the arbitrators in the congress of 1411 that addressed the disputes between the Polish and Hungarian Kingdoms after the Battle of Grunwald. Gedygold, alias Yuriy, is called the starosta of Podillya and the adviser of Vytautas (*Georgium alias Gedigolt consiliarum fratris nostri ducis Allexandri alias Withawd capitaneum Podolie*).³⁸ As the starosta of Podillya, Gedygold was mentioned for the last time in Sygismund's *glejt* (safe conduct), exhibited in Kežmarok for Polish magnates arriving at the international congress (*Georgio alias Gedigoldus capitaneo Podolie*).³⁹ After holding Podolian office, he was the starosta in Smolensk for a short time, and then he was appointed the voivode of Vilnius in 1425, and held that office until 1432.⁴⁰

Petro Montygerdovych was the starosta of Podillya for a short period. Before that, like Jan Dovgird, he had held the office of the Court Marshal. It means that Petro belonged to the inner circle of Vytautas.⁴¹

³⁵ *Urzednicy podolscy*, № 535–37, 119–20.

³⁶ *Capitane de Lopodolie* [sic!] *uomme Cheldigold* ... See Брун, "Voyages et ambassades de Messire Guillebert de Lannoy," 437; Giedrė Mickūnaitė, *Making a Great Ruler: Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006), 30.

³⁷ About Gedygold, see Lidia Korczak, *Litewska rada wielkksiążęca w XV wieku* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1998), 83; Lidia Korczak, *Monarcha i Poddani: System władzy w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w okresie wczesnojagiellońskim* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2008), 100, 131, 132; and Рымвідас Пятраўскас, *Літоўская знаць у канцы XIV–XV ст: Склад—структура—улада*, 2nd ed., trans. Алесь Мікус (Смаленск: Інбелкульт, 2014), 233–34.

³⁸ *Dokumenty Polskie z archiwum dawnego Królestwa Węgier*, ed. Stanisław A. Sroka, vol. 1: *do 1450 r.* (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 1998), № 39, 55.

³⁹ *CE*, vol. 2, № 126, 163.

⁴⁰ Пятраўскас, *Літоўская знаць*, 322.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 267–68.

Jan (Ivan) Dovgird was the last starosta placed by Vytautas, serving from 1427 to the end of 1430, when Kamyaneys was seized by the Buczaccki brothers. In 1433 he became the voivode of Vilnius, occupying this office until 1443. Despite being a supporter of Grand Duke Sigismund Kęstutaitis he plotted against him, but managed to keep the office of voivode.⁴²

All three of the above-mentioned starostas of Podillya belonged to powerful families in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The office of Podolian starosta was a significant stage in their careers, as Yuriy Gedygold and Ivan Dovgird went on to hold the office of the voivode of Vilnius, the highest-ranked office in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania;⁴³ therefore, their position of starosta in a distant and dangerous region helped to jump-start their careers in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. According to historiography, the institutionalization of the Lithuanian elite was related to the reign of Vytautas (since 1392), especially after the Union of Horodło in 1413.⁴⁴ The institutionalization coincided with the beginning of Vytautas's rule over the entirety of Podillya and his appointment of close and loyal people to govern Podillya in the capacity of starostas of Kamyaneys.

Despite the informational complexity of the sources on Vytautas's rule over Podillya, he is believed to have changed the structure of the gentry's milieu and consolidated the pro-Western local noblemen. These transformations are illustrated by Vytautas's policies of granting lands in the form of fiefdoms for a cash deposit, as well as the resistance of the pro-Western group of Podolian nobility to the new ruler until 1418. Given the mention of starosta general Gedygold in 1421, I would suggest that the position of starosta of Podillya was one of the key offices (see [Chapter 10](#)), thanks to the geographical location of Podillya, whereas the person holding it was supposed to belong to the circle of loyal and close supporters of the king or duke. This is well illustrated by the nomenclature of starostas serving under Władysław II Jagiełło and Vytautas. The starosta general title might have been an attempt by the Latin chancellery of Vytautas to customize the status of the duke's representative in Podillya.

Vytautas's desire to obtaining the support and loyalty of noblemen by granting them lands turned out to be feckless. Teodoryk of Buczaczc, who received the largest number of estates from Vytautas, together with his brother, led the movement to restore the king's power in Podillya after the duke's death. Neither Teodoryk nor his family were interested in remaining outside the king's jurisdiction. It is unclear whether the Ruthenian noblemen's desire to acquire the same privileges that the Polish nobility had was taken into account. However, Władysław II Jagiełło promised to introduce the law of the kingdom to Podillya and to match the rights of the local nobles and Polish nobles, in exchange for acknowledgment of his sons as the king's heirs. The Buczaccki brothers and

⁴² Ibid., 244–45.

⁴³ *Urzednicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego: Spisy*, vol. 1: *Województwo wileńskie: XIV–XVIII wiek*, ed. Andrzej Rachuba, Władimir Jamialjańczyk, Henryk Lulewicz, and Przemysław Romaniuk (Warszawa: DiG, 2004), № 1096–97, 191–92.

⁴⁴ Rimvydas Petrauskas, "The Lithuanian Nobility in the Late-Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Composition and Structure," *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 7 (2002), 2–3.

the pro-Crown noblemen certainly knew about this promise, and it was one of the stimuli for them to seize Kamyanets after Vytautas's death. The oath of the Ruthenian nobility in Halych on June 28–29, 1427, influenced their pro-Crown position and, according to scholars, bound them to the Polish Kingdom even more.⁴⁵

Did the “discovery” of Podillya bring “New World” benefits to foreign nobles? Yes, it probably did. In Podillya, they found what they wanted: lands and estates. These benefits could not be overshadowed by the fact that the new landholdings made them personal servants of the king until 1434. Both the king and the grand duke aimed to create a loyal and reliable group of noblemen in Podillya and make this contested borderland one of the provinces of their possessions.

Both the king and Vytautas, by appointing magnates from Lesser Poland and people close to the grand duke to hold the office of starosta of Kamyanets, contributed to the arrival in the region of a great number of clients and servants brought along by their patrons. Every starosta came to Podillya with his clients and servants. When a patron along with servants went back to perform his new responsibilities, his clients most likely did not follow him, since they already owned estates in the dangerous borderland and had learned to live there.

Not surprisingly, it was the newcomers who efficiently facilitated the emergence of new identities in Podolian society; these were not the identities of locals or newcomers, or people marked by another kind of criterion, but the shared regional identity of Podolians. In the early fifteenth century a document of Lavrin, the owner of Knyazhe and Kolchivtsi, mentioned the gentry and nobility of Podillya (*terrigenae et nobiles terre nostre Podolie*) as a generic term to define the new regional community. The latter would determine the partition of Podillya in two parts: the western, with its capital in Kamyanets, and the eastern, with its capital in a dangerous Bratslav. The eastern part of Podillya would go under the control of Švitrigaila, and later become the frontier province of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with its blurred border with the steppe.

⁴⁵ Kurtyka, “Z dziejów walki,” 91; Wioletta Zawitkowska, *Walka polityczno-prawna o następstwo tronu po Władysławie Jagiello w latach 1424–1434* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2015), 146–47.

Chapter 9

THE STRUGGLE FOR PODILLYA: JAGIEŁŁO, ŠVITRIGAILA, THE SHADOW OF VYTAUTAS, AND PRO-POLISH NEWCOMERS

THE DEATH OF Vytautas sharpened the issue of Podillya's identity. His long, nineteen-year rule did not appease the conflicting parties' appetites for the region but, rather, entailed new conflicts. For the supporters of the king, Podillya had to return under the rule of Władysław II Jagiełło—or at least its western part, with the castles of Kamyanets, Smotrych, Skala, and Chervonohrod. They argued that Vytautas had had the right to rule over Podillya for life. In the other camp, the youngest brother of Władysław II Jagiełło, Švitrigaila, who had been familiar with Podillya, became the new grand duke of Lithuania, circumventing the will of Jagiełło, the overlord of Lithuania.

The event that drew everyone's attention to Podillya again was an attack on Kamyanets and other castles in Podillya. The Catholic Bishop Paweł from Bojańczyce and the Polish magnates of Podillya (*barones Poloni terre predictae Podolie*), namely Hrytsko Kierdeyovych, the Buczacki brothers, Teodoryk, Michał, and Michał Mużyło, and Krystyn from Gałów, headed the movement. They all came to Kamyanets to mourn the death of Vytautas. Having invited the starosta of Kamyanets, Dovgird, who at that point did not know about the death of Vytautas, for a conversation, they captured him, then took Kamyanets and other castles under their control and returned Podillya to the Kingdom of Poland.¹ A different version of this story is included in *A Tale on Podillya*: the Poles who arrived to Kamyanets after the death of Vytautas invited the starosta of Kamyanets, Dovgird, for a council, robbed him, and then seized Kamyanets and everything else in Podillya.²

In this context, one should pay attention to the denomination of the movement's leaders. Długosz explicitly names them *the Polish* magnates of Podillya. If they had been Poles, that would offer a perfect explanation for their motivation. In addition, it would work if Długosz had not written the story in the 1450s and 1460s—twenty years after the events took place—when the issue of western Podillya's ownership (the Podolian Voivodeship at the time) had returned to the agenda of the Kingdom of Poland's relationship with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The seizing of Kamyanets and other castles of Podillya by the Buczacki brothers and other pro-Crown activists happened during Władysław II Jagiełło's visit to Lithuania. After learning about this, the new grand duke, Švitrigaila, imprisoned the Polish king, demanding an immediate return of the occupied Podolian castles. Jan Długosz in *Annals*

¹ Długosii, *Annales*, liber 10: 1413–1430, 309.

² ПСРЛ, vol. 35, 67: “[A] как князя великого Витовта в животе не стало и, приѣхавши ляхове, пана Долѣгирда из города ис Каменца созвали на раду к собѣ и до рады не допустивши самого иняли и огьрабили, и Каменецъ застыли, и все тои забрали, што Подольскои земли держать.”

describes in detail the imprisonment of Władysław II Jagiełło and Švitrigaila's claims to resolve the issue of Podillya's ownership, or at least a part of it.³ Omitting certain literary topoi and the author's emotions, one can see that the issue of Podillya turned out to be an explosive and sensitive affair.⁴

Under the pressure of legal arguments, Švitrigaila was probably compelled to accept the return of part of Podillya to the king's jurisdiction. On November 29, 1430, Švitrigaila and the high-ranking officials of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania signed two documents that stipulated their pledge to return western Podillya, with the castles of Kamyanets, Skala, Smotrych, and Chervonohrod, back to the king.⁵ The documents stated that Švitrigaila committed to forgive the noblemen and gentry of Podillya who had rebelled against him. It seemed that the issue of Podillya had been solved peacefully. According to the documents, both the king and the grand duke were to maintain the status quo of the years 1402 to 1410, when the western part of Podillya had belonged to the king, whereas the eastern had belonged to Vytautas, whose successor was Švitrigaila. However, de facto the issue of Podillya was not resolved.

The struggle for power in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania started in 1431 and put the population of the Ruthenian lands residing on both sides of the conflict in a confrontation situation. The campaign of the summer of 1431, known as the "Lutsk War," affected Podillya, although the campaign did not involve the territory of the region. The Moldavian Prince Alexander the Good supported Švitrigaila, crossed the Dniester with his units, and attempted to seize part of Podillya. But the Buczacki brothers confronted him and successfully repelled Alexander's attack.⁶

The Battle of Kopystryn on the Murafa River on November 30, 1432, played a crucial role in the future of divided Podillya. Supported by a force of Tatars and Moldavians, Švitrigaila's army under the command of Prince Fedko Niesvicki, the starosta of Podillya,⁷ lost the battle to the Crown army.⁸ Signed after the battle, the ceasefire led to the partition of Podillya into two parts and built a virtual wall in the middle of a once unitary historical region. According to Długosz, the knight Kiemlicz (almost the only person singled out by Długosz) distinguished himself in the battle, the bravest and the most courageous knight in the army of the kingdom.⁹ He is probably the Konrad Kiemlicz from

3 Długosii, *Annales*, liber 10: 1413–1430, 305–7.

4 In the fragment of *Annals* by Długosz that describes the events of the fifteenth century—or, more precisely, the events that took place up to 1480—Podillya and Volhynia are mentioned more often than other Ruthenian lands. By a strange coincidence, they are "united" to some extent by Švitrigaila.

5 Полехов, *Наследники Витовта*, № 2/3, 513–17.

6 Ibid., 193–210.

7 In the Teutonic Order's sources, he is called "the Hetman of Podillya" (*hertczog Vetko hauptman us der Podolie*). For the citation about him, see Anatol Lewicki, *Powstanie Świdrygiełły: Ustęp z dziejów unii Litwy z Koroną* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1892), 332.

8 Ibid., 162–63.

9 Długosii, *Annales*, libri 11/12: 1431–1444, 73–75.

Włostowicie (perhaps Lublin land)¹⁰ who received the village of Studenytsya in Podillya in the end of 1432.¹¹ The assignation sounds like his reward for his courage in the battle.

Without going into detail, it should be noted that the battle caused another wave of newcomers, arriving in Podillya from the West and receiving estates in western Podillya as the king's gifts and rewards. The king made the first assignations immediately after his arrival in the Kingdom of Poland in 1431.¹² They are dated February 10, 1431, and were signed in the village of Sopot, Sandomierz Voivodeship (perhaps).¹³ They consisted mostly of the king's possessions granted for cash deposits,¹⁴ as seen in numerous documents from Władysław II Jagiełło's chancellery covering the period from 1431 to 1434 (see Table 4).

The analysis of the table includes a certain trap posed by the sources that a researcher could fall into. Most of the recipients came from Polish territories, whereas the local noblemen were outside the process of receiving lands from the king. There is no definitive answer with plausible reasons for such a situation. It is possible that the local noblemen supported Švitrigaila and therefore fell out of the king's grace. However, even disregarding this aspect, the local noblemen were mentioned only a few times during the fifteenth century even though, as shown in the sources of the sixteenth century, quite numerous groups of them resided in Podillya. Thus, it is not exactly right to talk about the prevalence of a certain ethnic group amongst the nobility of Podillya only on the basis of the sources available and the king's policies from 1431 to 1434. Apparently, the officials in Podillya were appointed from a foreign nobility pool. This kind of approach should not come as a surprise if one remembers that the centre of power and the opportunities to receive a relevant and necessary experience in governance were located well outside Podolian territory (see Chapter 10). By granting offices and fiefs, the king aimed to strengthen the position of the pro-Crown group of Podolian nobility in western Podillya.

Signed in 1432 for a two-year period, the ceasefire led only to the partition of Podillya into two parts: the western, which became one of the voivodeships of the Kingdom of Poland in 1434, and the eastern, which remained under the rule of the grand duke and under the name of Bratslavshchyna (although the Bratslav Voivodeship would be established only in 1566).

10 Włostowice was formerly a village in Lublin land; today it is part of the city of Puławy. There is no such owner of Włostowice alias Włostów named Konrad. See "Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa lubelskiego w średniowieczu," ed. Stanisław Kuraś, in *Dzieje lubelszczyzny*, vol. 3 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1983), 263–64.

11 Молчановский, *Очерк известий*, 386; Kazimierz Pułaski, "Stare osady w ziemie kamienieckiej i dziedziczące na nich rody podolskiej szlachty historycznej," in Kazimierz Pułaski, *Szkice i poszukiwania historyczne*, serya 3 (Kraków, 1906), 133.

12 Antoni Gąsiorowski, *Itinerarium króla Władysława Jagiełły 1386–1434*, 2nd ed. (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2015), 117.

13 AGAD, tzw. ML, Dz. IV B, sygn. 17, k. 200–200v.

14 For more detail, see Віталій Михайловський, "Роздача земельної власності на Західному Поділлі за Владислава II Ягайла (1402–1413, 1431–1434)," *Вісник Львівського університету: Серія історична* 38 (2003), 596–630.

Table 4 Recipients of landholdings in western Podillya granted by Władysław II Jagiełło on condition of military service or a cash deposit, 1431–1434

Nº	Name of owner and social status	Size of cash deposit or number of armed men owner had to provide	Source
1	Jan Czanstułowski (<i>nobili Ioanni Czanstułowski ratione meritoris</i>)	100 hryvnias	AGAD, tzw. ML, Dz. IV B, sygn. 17, k. 200–200v
2	Stanisław, the servant of Janusz Kierdeyowych (<i>nobili Stanisław familiari Janussy Kierdyowicz</i>)	30 hryvnias	ZDM, vol. 7, № 2059
3	Machandey, the servant of Janusz Kierdeyowych (<i>Machandey seruitorii Ianyssy Kerdeyowicz</i>)	30 hryvnias	AGAD, AZ, sygn. 32, s. 934, 964–65
4	Żegota from Leczkowce (<i>nobili Zegothae de Leczkowcze ratione servitiorum</i>)	30 hryvnias	ZDM, vol. 7, № 2060
5	Piechno Adamkowicz (<i>nobilis Pyechno Adamkovicz terrigena noster Podoliensis</i>)	60 hryvnias	Ibid., № 2061
6	Jan Ciołek (<i>nobilis Iohannes Czolek haeres de Calush</i>)	100 hryvnias	Ibid., № 2062
7	Petro Rish (<i>nobili Petro Risch</i>)	50 hryvnias	AGAD, AZ, sygn. 32, s. 964
8	Franczko (<i>fidelibus servitiis nobilis Franczkonis terrigenae nostri Podoliae</i>)	40 hryvnias	ZDM, vol. 7, № 2064
9	Bedrych from Bedrykhivci (<i>nobili Biedrich de Biedrzichovicze terrigena</i>)	100 hryvnias	AGAD, AZ, sygn. 32, s. 965
10	Jakush Rozen (<i>nobili Jacusio Rozen</i>)	30 hryvnias	Ibid., s. 965
11	Wawrzyniec Ciołek and his son Piotr from Kłodbycz (<i>nobilis Laurencius Czolek cum filio suo Petro de Clodbycza</i>)	80 hryvnias	ZDM, vol. 7, № 2073
12	Jan from Boryshkivtsi (<i>Johanni de Boriskowcze, terrigenis Podoliensibus</i>)	40 hryvnias	Pohorecki, <i>Catalogus</i> , № 118
13	Jurko Świerczowicz (<i>nobili Jurko Szwirzczowicz terrigenae Podoliensi</i>)	40 hryvnias	ZDM, vol. 7, № 2074

Table 4 (Cont.)

Nº	Name of owner and social status	Size of cash deposit or number of armed men owner had to provide	Source
14	Domarat from Ślasków (<i>nobili Domarath de Slatkow</i>)	30 hryvnias	Ibid., № 2077
15	Świętosław from Zadowia (<i>nobilis Swentoslai de Zadowyia</i>)	50 hryvnias	Ibid., № 2078
16	Teodoryk of Buczacz (<i>Theodoro de Buczacz Capiteano Podoliae generali</i>)	400 hryvnias	AGAD, AZ, sygn. 32, s. 933, 966
17	Franczek from Stepanikowcze (<i>nobili Franczek de Stepanikowcze ratione servitiorum</i>)	50 hryvnias	ZDM, vol. 7, № 2079
18	Mikołaj Kloch (<i>nobili Nicolao Kloch familiari suo</i>)	100 hryvnias	AGAD, AZ, sygn. 32, s. 966
19	Piotr Odrowąż (<i>nobili Petro Odrowasz de Zagorze capitaneo Samboriensi</i>)	–	ZDM, vol. 7, № 2083
20	Domarat from Ślasków (<i>nobili Domarat de Slathkow ratione servitiorum</i>)	30 hryvnias	Ibid., № 2092 (see № 14)
21	Jakub from Jaczko (<i>nobili Iacobo de Iaczko</i>)	40 hryvnias	Ibid., № 2093
22	Konrad Kiemlicz (<i>generoso Conrado Kiemlicz</i>)	–	Молчановський, Очерк известий, 386
23	Andrzej Brynza from Zbinów (<i>strenuus Andreas Brinza de Sbinow miles fidelis</i>)	<i>Una hasta et quator sagittariis</i>	ZDM, vol. 7, № 2102
24	Mikołaj Odrowąż (<i>nobilis Nicolaus Odrowasch fidelis noster dilecut mauestati nostrae</i>)	100 hryvnias	Ibid., № 2104
25	Domarat from Ślasków (<i>nobilis Domarath de Slathkow familiaris noster dilectus</i>)	40 hryvnias	Ibid., № 2107 (see № 14, 20)
26	Stanisław and Trojan brothers from Vysichka (<i>nobilibus Stanislao et Troian fratribus de Wisieczko</i>)	30 hryvnias	Ibid., № 213
27	Zidovska (Zhydovska) (<i>nobilis Zidowska</i>)	50 hryvnias	Ibid., № 2136

(continued)

Table 4 (Cont.)

Nº	Name of owner and social status	Size of cash deposit or number of armed men owner had to provide	Source
28	Mikołaj Rałyjowski (<i>nobilis Nicolaus Ralyowski</i>)	40 hryvnias	Prochaska, <i>Materiały</i> , Nº 89
29	Matias Szyłochost (<i>nobilis Matthias Schilochost fidelis noster</i>)	50 hryvnias	ZDM, vol. 7, Nº 2141
30	Gotard from Swosz (<i>servitiis nobilis Gotardi de Swosz</i>)	40 hryvnias	Ibid., Nº 2049
31	Domarat from Śladków (<i>serviciis nobilis Domarath</i>)	50 hryvnias	Ibid, Nº 2150 (see Nº 14, 20, 25)
32	Ślabosż (<i>servitiis nobilis Ślabossy unioris cubicularii nostri</i>)	60 hryvnias	Ibid., Nº 2156
33	Jan Kruszyna from Gałów (<i>nobilis et strenuus Johannes Kruschyna de Galow, miles fidelis</i>)	<i>Una hasta et tribus balistariis</i>	Ibid., Nº 2159
34	Borsz from Kocina (<i>nobilis Borsius de Koczyna</i>)	50 hryvnias	Ibid., Nº 2162
35	Jan Kruszyna from Baków (<i>nobilis Iohanni Crussina de Bakow</i>)	60 hryvnias	Ibid., Nº 2166 (see Nº 33)
36	Stachnik Urbanowicz (<i>servitiorum Stachnikonis Urbanowicz</i>)	<i>Una lancea et duobus sagittariis</i>	AI03P, part 8, vol. 1, Nº 6, 10–11 ^a

a The document's publisher, Hrushevsky, did not provide its date. The editor of regesta of the Crown Metryka Wierzbowski assumed that it was 1434 based on the last year of Władysław II Jagiełło's rule and noted that the end of the document was damaged (*finis desideratur*).

Did anything change in the part of Podillya that remained under the Polish rule? One of the reasons for the partition, based on the ceasefire of 1432, was Władysław II Jagiełło's lack of resources. His unwillingness to be involved in the conflict with his brother Švitrigaila meant that western Podillya was supposed to be the easternmost territory under the king's power. Did Władysław II Jagiełło endeavour to introduce the law of the Kingdom of Poland there? Yes, he did try, as seen from the further course of events. And, perhaps, he was unable to implement his policy because of the unresolved dilemma of who would be the grand duke of Lithuania—Švitrigaila or the youngest brother of Vytautas Sigismund Kęstutaitis.

The frontier status of the region rendered Podillya an ambiguous area despite the unstable ceasefire. The attempts of the starostas, mainly the Buczacki brothers, to take

control of the whole region failed, and even ended up with the long-lasting captivity of Teodoryk of Buczacz.¹⁵ The introduction of the new legislation of the Kingdom of Poland into these lands took place only in 1434.

Podillya lacked long-established practices or experience of recording the land tenure rights and faced the still unfinished formation of its territory in its status as the eastern-most province of the Kingdom of Poland. Even those who had been living there since the end of the fourteenth century, such as the Świercz family from Silesia, had to be familiar with the current political situation and take any chance to maintain and extend their Podolian estates (see more below). Such a situation is well illustrated by the case of the Świerczes, who received landholdings from both the king and the grand duke.

A brief overview of the sources shows that the Podolian nobility was stratified according to different criteria, first and foremost by property and service-related grounds. In turn, the service obligations varied a lot as well, as seen from their multiple definitions. The majority of people who received land titles after 1430 seemed to come from the Crown lands. They, therefore, named themselves noblemen (*nobles*), which might have served as a model for the local gentry and a goal to take their rightful place in the noble corporation.¹⁶ One should keep in mind the previous period of Vytautas's rule over Podillya, when many people mentioned here received landholdings from him. However, one will not see anyone from the first period of Władysław's rule mentioned among those in the documents after 1430.

Besides the examples mentioned above, a patron-and-client type of relationship of a lower level, that of the local noblemen and their servants, is also mentioned in the documents, as in the case of Janusz Kierdey, the starosta of Skala, and his two servants, Stanisław and Machandey (*familiari Janyssy Kierdyowicz, seruitorii Ianyssy Kerdeyowicz*). All these mentions help us to learn more about the people who arrived in and settled in Podillya.

The issue of the ethnic origin of the new Podolian nobility, who were receiving lands in the region from the king starting from 1431, has been a sensitive issue since the second half of the nineteenth century. In his foreword to the first volume of the seventh part of *The Archive of South-Western Russia*, Mikhail Vladimirskiy-Budanov writes the following with regard to the king's policies of granting Podolian lands after 1430: "Polish government hastened immediately to begin granting the inhabited Podolian settlements to Polish noblemen on condition (*hoc tamen adjuncto specialiter et expresso*) that 'they are to live in Podillya and protect it by all means', certainly, from the Lithuanian–Russian state."¹⁷

Although the king's policy appears to be anti-Ruthenian, the idea of a targeted anti-Ruthenian campaign to colonize Podillya, bearing in mind the newcomers from the Crown

¹⁵ Długosii, *Annales*, liber 10: 1413–1430, 108.

¹⁶ For example, see *nobilis Pyechno Adamkovicz terrigena noster Podoliensis, nobilis Franczkonis terrigenae nostri Podoliae, nobili Biedrich de Biedrzichowicze terrigena, Johanni de Boriskowcze, terrigenis Podoliensibus, nobili Jurko Szwirzczowicz terrigenae Podoliensi*, etc.

¹⁷ Михаил Владимировский-Буданов, "Население Юго-Западной России от половины XIII до половины XV века," in *Архив Юго-Западной России*, pt. 7, vol. 1: *Акты о заселении Юго-Западной России (1386–1700 гг.)*, ed. Владимир Антонович (Киев, 1886), 83.

lands, seems to be a stretch. The researchers are hostages of those sources and information that they can read and interpret. Therefore, according to the available sources, the non-Ruthenian noblemen outnumbered the local Podolian nobility in the mid-1430s. The former were looking for an opportunity to obtain an allotment since they belonged to a world in which land was valuable and receiving the overlord's privilege was an obligatory element of its possession. It is hardly surprising that they are mentioned in the preserved sources related to Podillya. Most of the land titles were the king's reward for noble participation in the war with Švitrigaila during 1431 and 1432. Moreover, Władysław II Jagiełło aimed to ensure a painless transfer of power to his underage son, Władysław III.

It might appear that Władysław II Jagiełło's policy was a certain "response" to the pro-Ruthenian position of Vytautas during the previous period, but, as we have already seen in the case of western Podillya (see [Chapter 8](#)), this hypothesis is not verified by any available sources. Assignations of lands in the eastern part of Podillya, where the local or Ruthenian and Lithuanian population prevailed, need further study. For Russian imperial historiography, followed by Soviet scholarship, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was perceived as a Lithuanian and Ruthenian (Russian) duchy, and therefore all the actions directed against the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the side of the Teutonic Order and the Kingdom of Poland were interpreted as an anti-Ruthenian policy. The Moscow Principality's acts of aggression against its western neighbour were not treated as such.

Notably, two concepts of ownership evolved during the process of granting the land privileges in Podillya. The local noblemen, whose ownership rights might reach back to the times of Tatar rule, believed that the only criterion for determining the land tenure rights was time: the longer, the better. A small number of documents belonging to the Koriatovyches substantiate this theory, since princes gave land titles only to their closest officials. On the contrary, the noblemen who received landholdings in Podillya in the early fifteenth century—and even those coming from the Ruthenian domain of the king—were brought up in a completely different legal culture, in which the possession of documents confirming the land ownership was of primary importance to them.

I can only assume whether, for instance, the Świercz family, who had settled in the voivodeship for a long time, identified themselves as local or as newcomers. And did they remember their Silesian origin? Likewise, there is no answer to the question of who the noblemen from Buchach were and who they thought they were in relation to both Podillya and Halych land, as all the sources known from the 1370s tie them to this territory and make them sound local. But, in fact, their belonging to the Abdank family might mean that they were of Polish origin. In addition, the Ruthenian spelling of Teodoryk of Buczacz's name, Dietrykh (Dietrich in German), could indicate their Silesian or German origin, so they might have arrived in Ruthenian lands together with Vladislaus II Opole.¹⁸

The affirmation of the king's power in western Podillya served as a precondition for the formation of the Podolian Voivodeship and the adoption of the Crown law on its territory. The formation of the new administrative unit of the Kingdom of Poland was completed only in the late 1440s. The reason for that was Švitrigaila.

18 AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, sygn. 7311, 7312, 7322.

The Švitrigaila Factor in the 1430s and 1440s

The events of the 1430s and 1440s demonstrate that Švitrigaila did not forget about “his” Podolian Principality and his rule over it in 1400 and 1401. The crucial document that demonstrates the geography of Grand Duke Švitrigaila’s jurisdiction in 1432 is the list of cities, in which the Podolian castles Cherkasy, Zvenyhorod, Sokilets, Chornohrod, Kachebiiv, Mayaky, Karaul, and Letychiv at the end were specifically mentioned.¹⁹

Upon the events of the 1430s, having lost the struggle for the throne of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Švitrigaila was compelled to seek reconciliation with his nephew, Władysław III, and, after an unsuccessful attempt to regain the Lithuanian throne, he had to be content with his fiefdom in Volhynia. In the late 1430s Švitrigaila issued a whole series of land assignment documents for his boyars. On September 2, 1437, in Ostroh, Švitrigaila rewarded his servant Hryhoriy Strechenovych, granting him the villages of Bilykivtsi and Slobidka in Letychiv County. One of the document’s witnesses was Monyvdyd, the starosta of Podillya, appointed by Švitrigaila.²⁰ Another document issued at the same time was a privilege, by which the duke granted the villages of Uladova Hirka and Zhoravka on the Southern Bug River, not far from Khmilnyk.²¹ Stefan, alias Steczko from Vlodovtsi (*Stephan alias Steczko de Wladowcze*), presented this document during an inspection in 1469.²² In 1443 Steczko from Vlodovtsi received the village of Kurylivtsi in Khmilnyk County from Władysław III.²³ Since he is identified as Silesian in the sources²⁴ and the place name of *Vlodovitse* has been recorded twice in Silesia (near Zawiercie and near Kłodzko), I would suggest that his father arrived at Podillya in the days of either Vladislaus II of Opole’s rule over Ruthenian lands or Spytek’s rule over western Podillya. One of the document’s witnesses was Włostowski, who was mentioned as the starosta of Kamyanets among the witnesses of Švitrigaila’s document in Kyiv, on October 17, 1437.²⁵ Such an unexpected appearance of Silesians in distant Podillya might look surprising at first glance. However, a closer look at the people of Podillya reveals that the mosaic picture of foreigners coming here from different parts of Central Europe is one of the highlights of life in this contested territory on the great frontier.

19 Полехов, *Наследники Витовта*, № 5, 523, 525: “Bracslaw, Item in terra Podoliensi castra, Cirkassi, Zwinihrod, Sakolecz, Czarnygrod, Kaczakeyow, Mayak, Karawull ... Letyczow.”

20 Розов, *Українські грамоти*, № 74, 135–37. The paper argues that the document was dated 1437. For publication of the document with this date, see AS, vol. 1, № 36, 35–36.

21 *Katalog dokumentów pergaminowych ze zbiorów Tomasza Niewodniczańskiego*, № 165, 82–83. Oskar Halecki knew about the document thanks to its sixteenth-century copy: Oskar Halecki, *Ostatnie lata Świdrygiełły i sprawa wołyńska za Kazimierza Jagiellończyka* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1915), 289. For the most recent study on Włostowski’s officials in the 1430s and 1440s, see Kurtyka, “Wierność i zdrada,” 705–6, 709–11.

22 “Bona Regalia,” 45: “*Litera prima confirmatoria regis Hungarie, donacionis ducis Swidrigal, super villis perpetue datis, scilicet Wladowahorka et Zorawka.*”

23 ZDM, vol. 8, № 2461, 264–65. Stefan presented the document during the inspection of 1469 as well. See “Bona Regalia,” 46: “*Alia continet 50 marcas in villa Curylowcze.*”

24 Leon Białkowski, *Podole w XVI wieku: Rysy społeczne i gospodarcze* (Warszawa, 1920), 145.

25 AS, vol. 1, № 35, 34.

On September 4, 1437, in Lviv, Švitrigaila swore loyalty to his nephew and Polish king, Władysław III.²⁶ The members of his close circle followed his example. One of them was Monyvyd, recorded in the document as the starosta of Podillya and Kamyanets (*Monwid Camenecensis et Podoliae capitaneus*).²⁷ Despite the title of his office, Monyvyd's responsibilities covered only those Podolian territories that were under Švitrigaila's rule. He was also the nephew of Yuriy Gedygold, the first starosta of Podillya appointed by Vytautas.²⁸

The last example, interesting in the context of Švitrigaila's claims to Podillya, is the privilege dated June 11, 1446, by which the duke granted the villages of Mochulyntsi, Orevche, Manylovtsi, and Hnystovtsi in Kamyanets County ("Moczulincze a Orewcze, Mannilowcze a Hnistowcze w Kamienieckim powiecie") to Świercz ("panu Szwierczu"). The privilege is known from the confirmation made by Sigismund II Augustus during the Lublin Sejm in 1569.²⁹ It is noteworthy that there was a reference to Mochulyntsi only in 1569, yet the three additional villages appeared suddenly in Švitrigaila's document. Mochulyntsi and Manylvtsi are the only villages to be identified on the contested border between the Podolian Voivodeship and the Volhynian land. The document is interesting, because it demonstrates that the Świercz family, who had lived in Podillya for a long time, aimed to extend their estates by using Švitrigaila, who should have lost his power over that part of Podillya. Nevertheless, it seems that he did continue to control these lands up until that time. Švitrigaila probably expanded his power over some contested territories, since there was no king elected at that time in the Kingdom of Poland and, besides, Kraków hardly paid any attention to the distant eastern provinces. Moreover, that part of Podillya was an ambiguous territory, where a fragment of the Chorny trade route merged with the Kuchmanski trade route.

The examples cited above show how the rulers at that time perceived their rights to territories that had been under their control. The case of Švitrigaila is rather typical in this context and identical to the case of the Koriatovych brothers, who kept calling themselves the princes of Podillya even after their renunciation of the rights to Podolian Principality in 1403. Given the geography of landholdings granted by Švitrigaila, the northeastern part of the Podolian Voivodeship was not under the jurisdiction of the starostas of Kamyanets appointed by the king. Švitrigaila might have still controlled those territories, because he had been both the prince of Podillya and the grand duke of Lithuania. Indirectly, this can

²⁶ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti ex antiquis libris formularum corpore Naruszeviciano*, ed. August Sokołowski and Józef Szujski, vol. 1 (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1876), № 91, 84–85.

²⁷ Ibid. № 92, 86.

²⁸ Пятраўскас, *Літоўская знаць*, 264.

²⁹ AGAD, MK, syng. 107, s. 58–60. Halecki's comments on Švitrigaila's documents (August 1437), presented in Luck: Halecki, *Ostatnie lata Świdrygiełły*, № 9, 288–89. According to the list of Volhynian officials, there was no starosta named Petro (Piotr, Pietr) in Luck from the 1430s to the 1450s: *Urzednicy wołyńscy*, № 353–60, 94–95. However, the mention of starosta Ivan, the brother of Petro (1443), brings some discordance to the records (№ 358, 95). In 1459/60 Petro Ianovych was the starosta of Luck and marshalek (he is absent from the list of Volhynian officials): Алєг Ліцкєвіч, "Старабеларускія граматы XV ст. з Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych у Варшаве," *Забыткі. Дакументальныя помнікі на Беларусі* 11 (2009), 24.

be illustrated by the inclusion of Letychiv in the “List of Švitrigaila’s cities” in 1432 and a military campaign of 1446/47 under the command of Teodoryk of Buczacz, the starosta general of Kamyanets, after which he incorporated Letychiv, Medzhybizh, and Khmilnyk into his jurisdiction.³⁰

In the competition of the two rulers, Władysław II Jagiełło and Vytautas, the former formally won, as he lived for several years longer than his opponent did. In the struggle for the subordination of the entire region of Podillya, both parties of the conflict gained larger or smaller parts of the region. It was the territory where the interests of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania overlapped. For the Moldavian Principality, Podillya was a foothold used for in its struggle for power and a place for its asylum seekers between the 1440s and the 1460s. The Tatars, the former rulers of Podillya, did not abandon the region, and had been invading Podillya for loot and for capturing local inhabitants to sell them as slaves since the 1430s.

Władysław II Jagiełło and Vytautas granted landholdings in the volatile and contested borderlands to newcomers. The second generation of the newcomers identified themselves in the documents as *podoliensi*, the Podolians. Perhaps Podillya remained under the power of the Polish Crown due to their position, as it was in line with their interests. The Polish King Władysław II Jagiełło, in initiating the process of granting land in exchange for service, had received a significant political advantage and created a pool of people loyal to him and the Crown. They later contributed to the subordination of western Podillya to the Polish Crown, with Kamyanets as its capital. Władysław II Jagiełło relied on these people in his dispute over Podillya with his brother Švitrigaila after 1430.

By the first decades of the fifteenth century the structure of the Podolian nobility had already been established. Princes (*knyaz*) were replaced with *nobilium* or *terrigenarum Podolie*—that is, by the noblemen and gentry of Podillya. This structure reflects not only their property status but also their holding of offices, which began in 1434 (see Chapter 10).

Casimir IV, the son of Władysław II Jagiełło, the Polish king and grand duke of Lithuania, finally resolved the issue of Podillya’s status. The dualism of power and the partition of the region after the military actions in 1431/32 reconciled the two parties after several congresses from the late 1440s to the early 1450s. The thirty-year war with the Teutonic Order absorbed all the resources of the king and finally “buried” the issue of Podillya.

Since then there has been more information available about western Podillya, which became the Podolian Voivodeship, with Kamyanets as its capital, and its officials, noblemen, and patron–client relationships, than about eastern Podillya, which turned into a grey area after 1432 and whose capital, Bratslav, was burned down several times by the Tatars during the fifteenth century. Although the border with the Tatars was hundreds of kilometres away from the Podolian Voivodeship, it was still dangerous to live there.

30 On the campaign headed by Teodoryk of Buczacz and the establishment of his authority over that territory, see Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота*, 133–34.

PART 4

THE EDGE OF EUROPE IN THE EAST: THE PODOLIAN VOIVODESHIP AFTER 1434

DID THE EUROPEAN border run through Podillya in the fifteenth century? Was it the edge of European civilization in the East? Were the contested territories at the border an inhabited space for local Ruthenians and those who arrived here, from both the eastern and western sides of the border, seeking fortune? What positions did the newly arrived noblemen occupy in a distant Podillya? Answers to these questions constitute the history of western Podillya or the Podolian Voivodeship in the fifteenth century. Freshly arrived noblemen demanded new law, which was introduced in the newly established Ruthenian and Podolian Voivodeships in 1434. The implementation of new law brought new officials, who, on behalf of the king and the local community, represented the will of their overlord and the people, which at that time meant the will of the nobility.

From district offices and land titles, which Podolian rulers used to grant to noblemen during the fifteenth century, one can learn about the main actors of local history. In most cases, these officials consisted of new people, who had nothing in common with Podillya before the fifteenth century. Rich and not so rich, they were linked together by a network of various kinds of relationships: family, neighbour, friend, service, and clientele. These links formed a system of coordinates they used to function at the turbulent borderland. Hardly would a late medieval local community survive in a border area without these links, especially the service and clientele relationships. The king and court were very distant, and sometimes a ruler might as well have been completely absent from the state, as was the case from 1440 to 1444, when Władysław III left his Polish possessions forever after being elected as Hungarian king. From the king's perspective, there were more critical affairs in the Polish Kingdom, such as the long-drawn-out election of a king from 1445 to 1447, the thirteen-year war with the Teutonic Order between 1453 and 1466, and King Casimir IV's attempts to ensure the throne of the Czech Kingdom for his son. The son of Władysław II Jagiełło, Casimir IV, visited Podillya only once during his long reign,¹ in 1448, which implied that he was not interested in the region. This development could have weakened the new province or led to a shifting of the border in favour of the Tatars, for whom it could have been revenge for the defeat in their confrontation

¹ Grażyna Rutkowska, *Itinerarium króla Kazimierza Jagiellończyka 1440–1492* (Warszawa: Neriton, 2013), 84–85.

with the Gediminas in the middle of the fourteenth century, which resulted in the surrender of the territory between the Dniester and the Dnieper Rivers. However, it did not happen, for several reasons (see Map 2).

Any border area is a risk zone, since borders are always dangerous and contested territories. The Podolian Principality under the Koriatovych brothers; part of Podillya under the voivode of Kraków, Spytek of Melsztyn; Władysław II Jagiełło's and Vytautas's policy of granting land titles in reward for service—all these factors shaped the local community. Distance from the king and, apparently, a *carte blanche* from him compelled the local authorities—royal representatives, of whom the Buczackis played leading roles—to be proactive and make their own decisions. The power they had, and probable orders from the king, empowered them to take charge not only of local matters but also of foreign affairs, as demonstrated by the right of the starosta general of Kamyanets to establish diplomatic relations—a right that belonged to the king's prerogatives. Thanks to such privileges, local authorities obtained extraordinary positions in the local community, contributing to the establishment of a significant number of client–patron groups, which were at the core of every family's influence at that time. In this context, the Podolian Voivodeship was a typical one, given the management tools the noblemen used. Nevertheless, it became anything but a regular province of the Polish Kingdom, and Europe in general, because of its location. It was the place where Western rules of life met with the Eastern world regarding control over the area inhabited by Ruthenians. Such a configuration was exceptional for any European frontier. Struggle between two parties over their shared borderland is quite a common practice, as seen in the Iberia Peninsula, yet in the case of Podillya, when Tatars from the East competed against “the united Christians” from the West, the position of the local population and their choice in this struggle was crucial. And, apparently, they chose the Christian side.

The easternmost province of the Polish Kingdom, the Podolian Voivodeship, eventually transformed into a mobile military camp. No wonder Bernard Wapowski, the creator of one of the earliest maps of the Polish Crown in the early sixteenth century, depicted Podillya as a military camp with armed horsemen. Soldiers, the symbol of Podillya, were those “new Podolians” seeking their fortune at the dangerous border. New people and a new law in the new province of Podillya in a certain way limited the expansion of something that could be called the elements or traits of Europeaness of that time. However, the Podolian Voivodeship as a border area was under the influence of powers from the opposite side of the border. Another kind of new people, new rule, new states—the Ottoman Empire, and its vassal: the Crimean Khanate—had been on the agenda for the locals since the emergence of the Podolian Voivodeship. Eastern influences can be traced in the architectural style of the modern city of Kamyanets–Podilsky. The easternmost European Catholic cathedral has an unusual annex: a minaret that was built by Turks in the 1670s when Podillya was the Ottoman Empire's province. The cathedral and its minaret symbolize the history of Podillya, the place where the West met the East, and vice versa.

Chapter 10

NEW LAW, NEW OFFICIALS, AND NEW PEOPLE IN THE REGION

THE NEW LAW, which not only Ruthenian subjects but also all the subjects of Władysław II Jagiełło had been waiting for (the agreement between the king and the nobility on the recognition of one of Władysław's sons as a future king), represented a watershed in the life of the Podolian Voivodeship, the new part of the Crown. Established in 1434, it encompassed the territory, which included cities and castles in Kamyanets, Smotrych, Skala, Chervonohrod, and Bakota. It overlapped with Spytek of Melsztyn's possessions at the end of the fourteenth century and part of the Podillya under the king's power from 1402 to 1410 (see [Chapters 5 and 7](#)). Not all of these cities remained the centres of castle counties. Bakota, the first capital of Ponyzzya, was destroyed after the combat, and its status as the county capital was rather nominal after the ceasefire of the 1430s ([Figure 6](#)).

The dissemination of the Crown law and the establishment of a new voivodeship raised the question of supplying it with officials, those who would govern the territory on behalf of the king and the local nobility. According to the Crown law, only those who had landholdings in a voivodeship were allowed to be appointed to govern there—that is, they had to live in the corresponding voivodeship. Up to this time we have known only about such officials as starostas, the representatives of a ruler, and the castle voivodes. Later, the office of the starosta of Kamyanets, which will be discussed further, would play a central role in the voivodeship, undermining two high-ranking positions in the voivodeship hierarchy: the voivode of Podillya and the castellan of Kamyanets.

The introduction of offices¹ according to Crown law practices required the establishment of at least one District Court, a judicial body with the offices of district judge, deputy district judge, and district scribe. The list of district offices also includes a chamberlain, lord of the army (*wojski*), standard-bearer, cup-bearer, master of the hunt, sword-bearer, and esquire carver/steward. This more or less standard list of district offices formed the hierarchy of officials, among whom the chamberlain (one who chaired a Chamberlain Court and had jurisdiction over the disputes concerning the estate borders) was considered the principal one. This structure replicated the structures in place in other voivodeships of the Kingdom of Poland. In particular, the Kraków Voivodeship served as a model for the Ruthenian Voivodeship and the Podolian Voivodeship.²

¹ Published in 1998 by Polish scholars, the list of Podolian officials is one of the best volumes of the "Officials of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth" series ("Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej"). The subchapter provides new information that fills the gaps and corrects the errors in the list: "Urzednicy podolscy." Another volume of the series was complementary one for the research: "Urzednicy wojewodztwa ruskiego."

² Maciej Wilamowski, "Magnate Territories in Red Ruthenia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Origin, Development and Social Impact," in *On the Frontier of Latin Europe: Integration*



Figure 6 Current view of Kamyanets Castle, southwestern side. The castle was built during the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. 2011.

Photo by Vitaliy Mykhaylovskiy.

This section will focus on district offices held by “new Podolians,” those who settled in Podillya in the fifteenth century. For convenience, the district offices are arranged in three groups. The first group consists of the offices of voivode and castellan. The second group includes judicial offices: the chamberlain, district judge, deputy district judge, and district scribe. The third group covers the court offices, whose names derived from the duties performed in the royal court: the standard-bearer, cup-bearer, master of the hunt, sword-bearer, esquire carver/steward, and lord of the army. The office of starosta of Kamyanets will be discussed separately.

In the middle of the fifteenth century the noblemen of the Polish Kingdom, mainly the nobility from the Crown voivodeships, voiced their demands for the king not to allow a single individual to hold the positions of starosta and voivode or castellan at the same time. Adopted in 1454, the Nieszawa Statutes prohibited the combination of the offices of voivode and castellan with the office of starosta (except for the voivode of Kraków).³

and *Segregation in Red Ruthenia, 1350–1600*, ed. Tomas Wünsch and Andrzej Janeczek (Warsaw: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 2004), 83, 109–10.

3 *Jus Polonicum, codicibus veteribus manuscriptis et editionibus quibusque collates*, ed. Jan Bandtke (Varsaviae, 1831), 272.

However, this law did not work in the Podolian Voivodeship⁴. In the case of the lifetime offices, the king was unable to dismiss the officials unless he could offer them more senior positions. Neither could he deprive city starostas of their offices if the king himself had mortgaged their posts. Given the permanent shortage of money in the royal treasury, the king and the noblemen had to “agree” to such “double-holding” of positions. Did the frontier status of the voivodeship play any role in this case? It is more than likely that it did, since the Tatar threat, the sparse population concentration, and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania’s claim to western Podillya all required the concentration of power in one person’s hands. Moreover, the dominance of the Buczacki family in Podillya entangled the hierarchy of offices in the Podolian Voivodeship even more, especially when, in 1442, King Władysław III mortgaged the city of Kamyianets for a huge sum of money, which he paid back to the Buczackis only twenty-two years later.

High-Ranked Officials

The offices of voivode and castellan were the highest positions among Podolian officials. The office of voivode, a primary official and representative of the voivodeship in the royal court and sejms, did not require the performance of many duties. One of the voivode’s primary responsibilities was to lead Podolian noblemen when the king called a *pospolite ruszenie* (levée en masse). A castellan had even fewer responsibilities: he was in charge of gathering noblemen during a *pospolite ruszenie* with the assistance of the district lord of the army (*wojski*). There was only one castellan of Kamyianets in the Podolian Voivodeship. Despite the narrow scope of responsibilities, the offices of voivode and castellan were highly prestigious. The number of voivodes was equal to the number of voivodeships in the Crown. Given the medieval origin of the castellan office as the first person in a provincial centre, the number of castellans was higher than the number of provinces in the Kingdom. For instance, there were five castellans in the Ruthenian Voivodeship: castellan of Lviv, castellan of Halych, castellan of Peremyshl, castellan of Sanok, and castellan of Chełm. (The name of this office derived from the respective city’s name.) The prestige of this office was emphasized with the fact that the castellan of Kraków was the top-level official in the whole kingdom. At the end of the fifteenth century, after the establishment of parliamentary communication practices on the part of noblemen with the king, the offices of voivode and castellan gave their holders the right to become senators and have a place according to the hierarchy of voivodeships in the upper chamber of the Sejm, the parliament of the Polish Kingdom.

Until the end of the fifteenth century the office of voivode, launched after the emergence of the Podolian Voivodeship, had been held by nine individuals: Piotr Odrowąż from Sprowa (1434–1437), Michał of Buczac (1437–1438), Hrytsko Kierdey (1439–1462),

⁴ In this context, the Podolian Voivodeship was not different from the rest of the Ruthenian and Belz Voivodeships of the Crown: Віталій Михайловський, “Вищі урядники Польського королівства на руських землях у 1434–1506 роках: спроба колективного портрета,” in *Theatrum Humanae Vitae: Студії на пошану Наталі Яковенко*, ed. Наталія Білоус, Лариса Довга, Віталій Михайловський, Наталія Старченко, and Максим Яременко (Київ: Laurus, 2012).

Stanisław of Chodcza (1462–1466), Michał Mużyło of Buczacz (1466–1471), Andrzej Fredro (1472–1476), Jan Odrowąż from Sprowa (1476–1479), Dawid of Buczacz (1480–1485), and Jakub of Buczacz (1485–1497).⁵ Even a cursory glance at the list shows that the Buczackis predominated, as four members of their family served as high-ranking officials in the Podolian Voivodeship during the century. Their influence would seem to have been even greater, because Andrzej Fredro was their relative: he was married to Katarzyna, the daughter of Michał Mużyło of Buczacz.⁶ The rest of the voivodes came from the most powerful families of the Ruthenian lands in the Crown. Apart from his noble origin, the first voivode of Podillya, Piotr Odrowąż from Sprowa, owned a large estate in the Podolian Voivodeship, consisting of two cities, Zinkiv and Sataniv, with Magdeburg law and seventeen neighbouring villages in the 1440s.⁷

The long career of Hrytsko Kierdey stands out among other Podolian voivodes. The descendant of a Tatar noble family that started serving the Polish king in the 1360s, he was one of the active participants in the project to return Podillya under the control of the Crown in 1430. Having received a large landholding with the castle of Skala, Hrytsko seemed to remove himself from Podolian affairs for a certain time, as demonstrated by his various offices of starosta in western Volhynia: Ratno (1431), Chełm (1431–1438), and Krasnystaw (since 1433). The latter became the centre of the Kierdeys' estate in Chełm land. Hrytsko Kierdey appeared to be the right person at the right time, both in Chełm and in Podillya, where he was appointed as the voivode of Podillya in 1438. For him and other Podolian voivodes, the next step would be the office of a Ruthenian voivode, a more prestigious and higher-ranked office in the fifteenth century. But the Odrowążes from the Sprowa family held this office until 1465. Such a long holding of the office led to the formation of a confederation against the Odrowążes in the Ruthenian Voivodeship in 1464.⁸ The Podolian noblemen did not protest against the long-lasting governance of the starosta general. The Podolian Voivodeship witnessed another scenario, as Hrytsko Kierdey received a royal permit to buy the office of the starosta of Kamyanets after the death of Teodoryk of Buczacz in 1455.⁹ It would enable him to hold both offices, the starosta of Kamyanets and the voivode of Podillya, but Hrytsko did not use royal permission and did not break the law. He would buy the office of starosta later using other ways.

Stanisław of Chodcza the Elder (the son of Stanisław of Chodcza is called "Junior" for the convenience of readers) become the subsequent voivode of Podillya. When he was appointed as voivode he had served as the starosta of Halych,¹⁰ and had not had any links to Podillya. It was he who interrupted the Buczackis' long-lasting hold on the office of

5 *Urzędnicy podolscy*, № 620–29, 139–44.

6 Józef Garbacik, "Fredro Andrzej h. Bończa," in *PSB*, vol. 7, zesz. 1 (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1948), 113.

7 Михайловський, "Велика земельна власність," 97.

8 Юрій Зазуляк, "Львівська конфедерація 1464 року: спроба прозопографічного дослідження її учасників," in *Записки наукового товариства імені Шевченка*, vol. 240 (Львів, 2000).

9 Михайло Грушевський, "Королівський дозвіл на викуп Камінецького староства 1456 р.," in *Записки наукового товариства імені Шевченка*, vol. 20 (Львів, 1897), 1–2.

10 *Urzędnicy województwa ruskiego*, № 334, 66–67.

starosta of Kamyanets, which Hrytsko Kierdey had failed to do eight years earlier. The appointment of Stanisław of Chodcza the Elder was a precondition for redeeming the office of Podolian starosta from the Buczackis (see below), allowing him to combine the position of the voivode with the office of starosta since 1464, in violation of the Nieszawa Statutes.

Despite the predominance of the Buczackis and their relative Andrzej Fredro, in general, the office of Podolian voivode was held by persons whose career (the Odrowążes from Sprowa, Stanisław of Chodcza the Elder, Hrytsko Kierdey) and main estates were located in the Ruthenian lands of the Crown. Except for the Odrowążes from Sprowa and, perhaps, the magnates from Chodcza, due to their origin, in the fifteenth century hardly anyone could make a career that reached beyond the Ruthenian lands. The location of the Podolian Voivodeship, situated as it was on the still contested border, might have been another factor that caused such career restrictions. The Podolian Voivodeship remained the place where royal officials were entirely independent in their decision and actions, as they demonstrated in the mid-1430s after the death of Władysław II Jagiełło when trying to bring the whole of eastern Podillya under royal control. The enterprise did not follow the will of the young Polish king but, rather, reflected the aspirations of the nobility from Lesser Poland and the Ruthenian lands, who wanted to unite the region, of which the eastern part was under the control of Prince Švitrigaila's followers. They seemed to be more than merely voivodes or starostas of the contested borderland.¹¹ In the fifteenth century a royal appointment policy tended to be regional, as the king appointed those persons whose families had power and owned land titles in the region where a vacancy had arisen. This policy was based on medieval practices and specific conventional ideas about territory, the noblemen living on that territory, and their duties and capabilities for mobilizing when requested by the king. The voivode post holder needed to be a prominent and influential person.

The office that came next in the hierarchy after the voivode was the castellan of Kamyanets. Only five individuals occupied this office in the fifteenth century: Bedrych from Bedrychivci (1438–1441), Teodoryk of Buczacz (1442–1455), Mikołaj Podoliec from Nowosielce (1456–1458), Michał Mużyło of Buczacz (1460–1466), and Mikołaj Bedrych (1467–1492). They all, except for Mikołaj Podoliec, belonged to two families—the Buczackis and the Świerczes—who had settled in Podillya during the reign of the Koriatovych brothers. Among them, two persons should be highlighted, namely Teodoryk of Buczacz and Mikołaj Bedrych, the son of the first known castellan of Kamyanets. Born into a powerful family, Teodoryk of Buczacz actively participated in the movement to subordinate western Podillya to the Crown in 1430 and held the positions of the starosta of Kamyanets and the castellan of Kamyanets. Mikołaj Bedrych, a wealthy nobleman, obtained a large estate in northeastern Podillya on the basis of cash collateral while holding the office of the castellan of Kamyanets for twenty-five years.¹² Neither of them

¹¹ Kurtyka, "Wierność i zdrada," 675–714.

¹² Віталій Михайловський, "Надання земельної власності у Подільському воєвоєводстві за Казимира IV (1448–1492)," in *Записки наукового товариства імені Шевченка*, vol. 251 (Львів, 2006), 405.

made a career beyond the position of castellan. Only Michał Mużyło of Buczacz managed to become the voivode of Podillya in his last years.

The clear predominance of the Buczackis can be seen in [Table 5](#), which shows the careers of voivodes of Podillya and castellans of Kamyanets from 1434 to 1500. The table indicates the number of starosta offices held by officials of the Podolian Voivodeship. They kept these offices not only in Podillya but also in the neighbouring Ruthenian Voivodeship. The data illustrates that a certain common Ruthenian space with similar practices and rules existed within the Polish Kingdom.

[Table 5](#) demonstrates that the careers of Podolian voivodes and castellans between 1434 and 1500 were not impressive, which is not surprising considering the time when the voivodeship was founded and its rank among other provinces of the Polish Kingdom. Only four voivodes obtained the office of the Ruthenian voivode, and only one castellan took the post of the voivode of Podillya in the future. The group of Podolian voivodes and castellans is an example that the high-rank offices in the Podolian and Ruthenian Voivodeships symbolized the high status of the wealthiest families of the Ruthenian lands in the Crown, namely the Odrowążes from Sprowa, the Buczackis, the Chodeckis, and the Kierdeys. From the perspective of these noblemen's careers, the Podolian Voivodeship was not considered as a separate entity, since their careers, estates, and influence easily crossed the border between the two voivodeships.

Judicial Officials

The next group is of judicial officials, so called due to their holding of legal responsibilities, which are very important for any society. The group consists of persons holding the following posts: chamberlain, district judge, deputy district judge, and district scribe. The chamberlain was in charge of Chamberlain Court, which used to hear cases of only estate delimitation. In contrast, the District Court was supposed to meet more or less regularly during the year. It consisted of the district judge, the deputy district judge, and the district scribe.

It is unknown whether the chamberlain was considered the most important among other district offices, apart from the voivodes and castellans, immediately after the introduction of the Crown law. Up until the end of the fifteenth century ten people had held this office, though little is known about them. The office of the chamberlain may have vacant for some periods during this time, though this is unknown as well. This situation is caused by the very poor state of the sources of that time. However, two features characterize the people occupying this office. First, it was members of the Kierdey family who held the position of chamberlain; second, for three individuals, their service in the royal court jump-started their careers in Podillya.

Mikołaj Podoliec started his career in the royal court in 1434. Then, in 1442, he received the king's estate of Tarnava, in Skala County, for 250 hryvnias of Polish coin as collateral,¹³ which was a considerable sum of money at that time. Consequently, Mikołaj

13 ZDM, vol. 8. № 2392, 199–200.

Table 5 Careers of voivodes of Podillya and castellans of Kamyanets, 1434–1500^a

No	Name	Career
VOIVODES		
1	Piotr Odrowąż from Sprowa (1434–1437)	Starosta of Sambir (1429–1436), <i>Halych</i> (1436–1442) <i>Lviv</i> (1440, 1442–1450); Ruthenian voivode (1437–1450)
2	Michał of Buczacz (1437–1438)	<i>Starosta of Halych</i> (1414–1436), <i>Kamyanets</i> (1430, 1438), <i>Peremyshl</i> (1437–1438); castellan of Halych (1433–1437)
3	Hrytsko Kierdey (1438–1462)	Starosta of Ratne (1431), <i>Chełm</i> (1431–1438), <i>Krasnystaw</i> (1433–1462), <i>Terebovlya</i> (1449–1462)
4	Stanisław of Chodcza (1462–1466)	Starosta of Kruszwica (1456), <i>Halych</i> (1452–1474), <i>Terebovlya</i> (1471–1474), <i>Kamyanets</i> (1464–1474); Ruthenian voivode (1466–1474)
5	Michał Mużyło of Buczacz (1466–1471)	Starosta of Snyatyn and Kolomyia (1436–1470), castellan of Kamyanets (1460–1466)
6	Andrzej Fredro (1472–1476)	<i>Starosta of Kamyanets</i> (1475–1476), castellan of Halych (1464–1471)
7	Jan Odrowąż from Sprowa (1476–1479)	<i>Starosta of Lviv</i> (1465), <i>Zhydachiv</i> (1465), <i>Sambir</i> (1465–1469), <i>Stryj</i> (1465), <i>Kamyanets</i> (1477–1481), <i>Halych</i> (1485); steward of Sandomierz (1465–1475); Ruthenian voivode (1479–1485)
8	Dawid of Buczacz (1480–1485)	Starosta of Kolomyia (1470–1484), <i>Kamyanets</i> (1482–1483); chamberlain of Halych (1474–1476)
9	Jakub of Buczacz (1485–1497)	Starosta of Kamyanets (1486–1492), <i>Hrubieszów</i> (1497), <i>Chełm</i> (1499–1501); castellan of Halych (1472–1485); Ruthenian voivode (1498–1501)
CASTELLANS		
1	Bedrych from Bedrychovci (1438–1441)	–
2	Teodoryk of Buczacz (1442–1455)	<i>Starosta general of Kamyanets</i> (1431–1434, 1442–1455)
3	Mikołaj Podoliec (1456–1458)	<i>Chamberlain of Kamyanets</i> (1455–1456)
4	Michał Mużyło of Buczacz (1460–1466)	Starosta of Snyatyn and Kolomyia (1436–1470); voivode of Podillya (1466–1471)
5	Mikołaj Bedrych (1467–1492)	Esquire carver of Kamyanets (1464–1466)

a Here and in the next tables the “Career” column indicates first the starosta officials. City starosta officials, who were in charge of City Courts dealing with criminal cases, are shown in italics. Offices to which officials were promoted are put in bold. All dates throughout the tables of the subchapter are annual ones. The table is based on “Urzednicy podolscy”; Центральний державний історичний архів України у м. Львові, фонд 181 “Ляницкоронські,” опис 2, справа 1653.

was a wealthy man and could afford to lend money to the king and other noblemen. He was the only chamberlain to be appointed the castellan of Kamyanets, in 1456. Given the predominance of the Buczackis and the Kierdeys in the Podolian Voivodeship at that time, the royal appointment of Mikołaj Podoliec demonstrates either his outstanding abilities or his protection in the court.

Except for the member of the Kierdeys holding the office of the chamberlain, Jan Łaszcz seems to be an interesting person due to his experience and clientele ties. The starosta of Zinkiv in the Odrowążes from Sprowa's private city, Jan Łaszcz is one of the few Podolians mentioned by Jan Długosz in his *Annales*, which is unusual for people of his status.¹⁴ The events on the remote borderland, in which Łaszcz participated, were so noteworthy that Długosz paid attention to them. In general, wealthy landowners possessing large estates in the Podolian Voivodeship held the office of chamberlain. This reveals a direct dependence on the size of an estate for a chance to hold the office, which served only to resolve property disputes.

Although the office of the chamberlain was significant due to its responsibilities, it was not a permanent court, in contrast to the District Court and its offices. The District Court emerged, like other offices in the Podolian Voivodeship, in 1434. Unfortunately, no court books before 1521 have survived to the present. Only sporadic documents as isolated acts, written in parchment, signed and sealed by the district judge or the deputy district judge, reveal its activity during the fifteenth century.¹⁵

The distinguishing feature of the offices of district judge, deputy district judge, and district scribe was that only eight persons held them throughout the fifteenth century. These offices were the only ones allowing a gradual career advance from scribe to judge, although only Mikołaj Czorny was promoted from deputy district judge to district judge in the fifteenth century. However, the practice of moving to higher positions within the District Court offices was widespread in the sixteenth century. Persons holding the office of scribe were supposed to be well educated, since they had to translate legal documents from Latin, the language of the District Court, into Ruthenian and/or Polish, and not everyone knew Latin. Consequently, the first Ruthenian translations of the Crown law statutes emerged, according to scholars, in the 1420s.¹⁶ The move was linked to the goals of noblemen living in Ruthenian lands to have the same rights as noblemen of the Crown.

The first district scribe of Kamyanets, according to sources, Domarat from Śladków, was an outstanding person among those who held this office during the fifteenth century. His extensive experience in the chancellery of Grand Duke Vytautas implies knowledge of

¹⁴ Długosii, *Annales*, liber 12: 1445–1461, 155, 156, 286, 287.

¹⁵ For example, AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, sygn. 7301, 7306, 7307, 7319, etc.; ЦДІАВЛ, ф. 181, оп. 2, сnp. 1649, 1653.

¹⁶ *Ruski przekład polskich statutów ziemskich z rękopisu moskiewskiego*, ed. Stanisław Roman and Adam Vetulani (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1959), 27–31. Profesor Juliusz Bardach argues that the statutes were translated into Ruthenian between the 1440s and the 1470s; see Juliusz Bardach, "Ruskie przekłady polskich statutów ziemskich XIV i początku XV w.," in *Studia z dziejów państwa i prawa polskiego*, vol. 3 (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 1999), 24.

the two main languages of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Latin and Ruthenian, and probably German too, as the language of communication with the Teutonic Order. His further service at the Royal Chancellery and the District Court of the Podolian Voivodeship confirms the implication that he knew Latin and Ruthenian, even though he was born in Łęczycza County¹⁷. While the district scribe was required to be a well-educated person, the district judge and his deputy were supposed to be at least literate in order to understand and explain judgment to a plaintiff, as well as to sign legal documents.

District Court offices, unlike the others, did not suffer from staff turnover. Zygmunt from Yagilnytsya was a district judge for thirty-two years, and Jan of Boryshkivtsi held the office of deputy district judge for twenty-five years. Thanks to his career and service in the royal court (see [Tables 5 and 6](#)), Zygmunt from Yagilnytsya's uncle, Mikołaj Podoliec,¹⁸ supported his nephew and helped him to obtain a long career and a large estate in the Podolian Voivodeship. Another example of a long career is that of Mikołaj from Piaszczyce, who performed the duties of district scribe for twenty-seven years. However, neither of them was promoted to voivode or castellan, because of the less prestigious status of District Court offices.

The only exception is Jakub Jachymowycz, who was a district judge and, simultaneously, deputy starosta in the late fifteenth century and early in the sixteenth. The combination of these offices made him a powerful man. However, his holding of the offices of district judge and deputy starosta at the same time created a legal conflict, as the same person resolved both criminal and civilian lawsuits and, moreover, was in charge of the execution of sentences. The deputy starosta or castle judge was a client of Stanisław of Chodcza Junior, so the latter dominated in the Podolian Voivodeship. The starosta of Kamyanets, in his turn, had been the starosta of Halych since 1488 and the castellan of Lviv since 1495, which did not meet the norms of the Nieszawa Statutes forbidding the simultaneous occupation of either a castellan's or a voivode's position and the city starosta's office. However, at least two cases of combining the offices are known (see below). Therefore, Jakub Jachymowycz was likely to have occupied posts in the District and City Courts thanks to the permission and patronage of Stanisław of Chodcza Junior.

The diversity of new judicial offices in the Podolian Voivodeship is presented in [Table 6](#). It is remarkable that many people, especially chamberlains, began their service at the royal court, so far away from Podillya. Apparently, the king could offer his stewards and courtiers nothing better than appointments in Podillya. However, the office of chamberlain was the third most prestigious after the offices of voivode and castellan.

The offices of chamberlain and of the District Court were the starting points of career paths for the wealthy nobility (the chamberlain position) and the middle-class nobles who owned lands in the Podolian Voivodeship. They came mostly from outside the voivodeship (see [Chapter 11](#)) and were second-generation settlers (the Kierdeys, the Fredros, the Świerczes). Except for Mikołaj Podoliec's promotion to castellan of Kamyanets, these offices did not entail any significant career development in the

¹⁷ Kurtyka, "Z dziejów walki," 116.

¹⁸ Ibid., 116–17.

Table 6 Careers of judicial officials of the Podolian Voivodeship, 1434–1500^a

No	Name	Career
CHAMBERLAIN		
1	Janusz Kierdey (1436–1448)	Starosta of Skala (1431)
2	Borsz from Kocina (1452–1453)	–
3	Mikołaj Podoliec (1455–1456)	Royal chamberlain (1434); castellan of Kamyanets (1456–1458)
4	Jan Łaszcz (1456–1457)	Starosta of Zinkiv (1456)
5	Zygmunt Kierdey (1458–1460)	Royal courtier (1441)
6	Mikołaj Krystyn Szczukowski (1464–1471)	Royal courtier (1442–1443)
7	Hrytsko Kierdey (1474–1486)	Chamberlain of Kamyanets (1463–1473)
8	Lukasz Śmietanka (1482–1487)	–
9	Jakub Fredro (1500)	–
10	Andrzej Świercz (1500–1510)	–
DISTRICT JUDGE		
1	Mikołaj Czorny (1441–1447)	Deputy district judge of Kamyanets (1437–1439)
2	Zygmunt from Yagilnytsya (1455–1487)	–
3	Jakub Jachymowycz (1499–1520)	Deputy starosta of Kamyanets and castle judge (1501–1504)
DEPUTY DISTRICT JUDGE		
1	Mikołaj Czorny (1437–1439)	Deputy district judge of Kamyanets (1441–1449)
2	Jan of Boryshkivtsi (1446–1471)	–
3	Zygmunt Śmietanka (1480–1486)	–
DISTRICT SCRIBE		
1	Domarat from Śladków (1442–1447)	Scribe of Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas (1430); scribe of the Royal Chancellery (1431–1442)
2	Mikołaj from Piaszczyce (1456–1483)	–

a The table is based on “Urzednicy podolscy”; AGAD, MK, sygn. 77; Центральний державний історичний архів України у м. Києві, ф. 220 “Колекція документів Київської археографічної комісії,” оп. 1, спр. 8; ЦДІАУЛ, ф. 181, оп. 2, спр. 1649.

fifteenth century. This was probably due to the Nieszawa Statutes (although Teodoryk of Buczacz occupied two positions, namely the voivode and the starosta, at the same time from 1442 to 1455). The rest of the changes occurred within the scope of District Court positions, although the promotions did not take place very often because of the long tenures of individuals. Thus, the right and duty to restore justice belonged mostly to the middle-class nobles, who received promotions, except for the chamberlain, only within the District Court offices: from a district scribe to a deputy district judge, and from a deputy district judge to a district judge.

The Starosta General of Kamyanets

The office of the royal representative, the starosta of Kamyanets, was not included in the system of district offices; instead, it was the tool of the king's policy in the region. The office of the starosta of Kamyanets originated in the time of the Podolian Principality under the rule of the Koriatovyches, when the officials occupying this position were mentioned for the first time.¹⁹ Probably the starostas in the Ruthenian lands, established by Prince Vladislaus II of Opole in the 1370s,²⁰ and the office of the Ruthenian starosta general, which had existed since the early 1350s,²¹ served as examples for the establishment of a similar post in the Podolian Voivodeship.

The office of royal representative in the Podolian Voivodeship differed from similar positions in other voivodeships because of its unique status. At first glance, the specific features of the office look odd. First, the name of the position included the word "general"; there were only two Starostas General in the whole Polish Kingdom, apart from the starosta of Kamyanets: the Ruthenian starosta and the starosta of Great Poland. Second, the starosta general of Kamyanets was in charge of extremely important duties that should have been under the king's control—the payment of tribute to the Tatars and mortgaging of the king's lands for up to 50 hryvnias of Polish coins. Third, in the fifteenth century the starosta of Kamyanets was the only castle starosta in the Podillya Voivodeship; therefore, the starostas of Kamyanets were the only persons authorized to deal with criminal cases and execute sentences. Fourth, the office of starosta of Kamyanets had been granted by King Władysław III to the Buczackis for a very long time.

The Buczackis had occupied the position of the starosta with some pauses since 1430, when western Podillya was under the rule of the Polish King. From 1430 to 1455 brothers Michał and Teodoryk held the office in rotation. The elder brother, Michał, had served as the starosta of Kamyanets twice—in 1430, immediately after the seizure of Kamyanets in the wake of Vytautas's death, and in 1438, combining the offices

¹⁹ Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота*, 36–37; Михайловський, "На маргінесі документа," 193–94.

²⁰ Jerzy Sperka, *Otoczenie Władysława Opolczyka w latach 1370–1401: Studium o elicie władzy w relacjach z monarchią* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2006), 361–66.

²¹ *Urzednicy województwa ruskiego*, № 1149a, 148.

of starosta and voivode of Podillya during 1437/38. Moreover, it should be mentioned that Michał held more prestigious offices, namely starosta of the neighbouring Halych (1414–1436) and Peremyshl (1437–1438), and from 1433 to 1437 he served as the castellan of Halych.²² Additionally, he occupied the post of starosta of Cherkasy from 1436 to 1437, when he along with his brother Michał Mużyło, the starosta of Bratslav at that time,²³ attempted to return eastern Podillya under the king's jurisdiction, taking advantage of favourable circumstances. It was probably the last endeavour to revive great Podillya, but the lack of sources prevents us from learning more about it. This action seemed to be the final step in pacifying Švitrigaila and his followers in eastern Podillya. There is no doubt that the Buczackis were the leaders of this campaign.

The younger brother of Michał of Buczac, Michał Mużyło, was the castellan of Kamyanets from 1460 to 1466 and the voivode of Podillya from 1466 until his death in 1471. It is noteworthy that he occupied the starosta's positions in Snyatyn and Kolomyia for a long time, from 1436 to 1470, which enabled him to control the region with one of the main trade routes, the *via valachica* that went to Lviv, as at that time Kolomyia was a significant salt extraction region for large areas of the Ruthenian lands.

But, among the brothers, it was Teodoryk who made the greatest career, given the scope of his activities. He was the starosta of Kamyanets twice (1431–1434 and 1442–1455), the castellan of Kamyanets (1442–1455), and the starosta of Chervonohrod from 1436.²⁴ He reached a milestone in his career with his appointment to the office of starosta general of Kamyanets, with far-reaching powers, for which he paid the considerable sum of money of 3,000 hryvnias of Polish coins in Buda on September 29, 1442.²⁵ One day later he received the cities of Karaul, Chornohrod, and Kachebiiv (the last city with a harbour by the seashore) as a mortgage for 3,000 hryvnias. It was a reward for his contribution to protecting Ruthenian lands and Podillya and negotiating peace with the Tatars.²⁶ Thus he became one of the largest royal creditors, not perhaps in the Polish Crown as a whole, but definitely in Ruthenian lands. Only the Odrowążes held more substantial amounts of royal loan obligations in Ruthenian lands at that time. In the case of loans from Teodoryk, he lent Władysław III a sum of money for estates, and the office of the royal representative in Kamyanets, that exceeded the total amount of mortgages within western Podillya and the Podolian Voivodeship combined.

Thanks to obtaining the Black Sea coastal cities mentioned in the document above, Teodoryk became the most significant and influential official not only in Podillya but also in Ruthenian lands. Direct access to the sea and ownership of the harbour enabled him to conduct foreign trade quite independently. It is probable that Teodoryk "advised" the young king to grant him the cities in the hope of taking them under his control when more favourable conditions presented themselves. Supposedly, Teodoryk's activity was

22 *Urzednicy podolscy*, № 538, 120–21; № 541, 123; № 621, 140, 193.

23 Kurtyka, "Wierność i zdrada," 708.

24 *Urzednicy podolscy*, № 190, 64; № 539, 121–22, № 544, 126, 194.

25 AGAD, AZ, sygn. 32, s. 935–36. Published in Kurtyka, "Nadanie starostwa," 94.

26 *ZDM*, vol. 8, № 2429, 231–33.

influenced by his cooperation with Genoese colonies on the Black Sea coast, which would not have been possible without the assistance of the Tatars. Having reached an agreement with the Tatars and with the rulers and candidates for the throne of the Moldavian Principality, Teodoryk played a pivotal role on the contested borderland. His involvement in trade and his profit from it explain the source of the large amounts of money he used to lend the king and the noblemen.²⁷ Another factor of influence was the Moldavian Principality, for its rulers regarded him as their partner. On May 22, 1443, in Buczacz, the Moldavian Palatine Iliáš granted him the Volhovets household with a mill and the two villages of Herman and Sochevytsya for 500 Tatar złoty, to thank the starosta of Kamyanets for harbouring the political refugee.²⁸ Although the villages were situated within the principality, Teodoryk could have owned them only after the restoration of Iliáš to the throne. It remains uncertain what political or economic reasons pushed him to be involved in the Moldavian struggle, as he could not be the ruler of the Moldavian Principality due to his non-princely origin, unlike the Koriatovyches.

The aforementioned document explains why Teodoryk of Buczacz was engaged in Moldavian affairs. At the beginning of the document, Iliáš calls Teodoryk “our nice friend and godfather [of our children], baron Ditrikh Buczacki and Jazlowetski, the starosta of Podillya” (*приятель наш милый и кумъ, панъ Дидрихъ Бучачъскый и Язловскый, староста Подольскый*), referring to him as to the godfather of his child. That was the reason why Teodoryk was so involved in the affairs of Iliáš. Given his family ties with the Moldavian ruler, Teodoryk was not just a royal representative in Kamyanets for Iliáš but a member of his family. The sons of Iliáš treated him with respect, as their godfather, from the late 1440s to the early 1450s.

Several documents belonging to Teodoryk concerning Prince Petru III of Moldavia demonstrate that Teodoryk's involvement in Moldavian affairs was tied to financial reasons. In one of the documents, Petru III of Moldavia committed to paying Teodoryk of Buczacz (*панъ Детрихъ*) 1,000 Turkish golden coins annually (*у каждый годъ*) in the event of his enthronement.²⁹ Apparently, Petru's commitment was compensation to Teodoryk for the money he had lent Petru for carrying out an action to strengthen his position. On March 3, 1443, Petru III and Teodoryk of Buczacz signed an agreement

27 The cooperation might have started in the 1420s under the rule of Vytautas, whose reign brought stability to the region. The travel notes of Pero Tafur under the year 1438 can serve as evidence for this suggestion. Describing Tatars, he notes: “They make war on the neighbouring Christians, and take them and sell them in Kaffa, especially since the death of the lord of Vitoldo, who ruled over Lithuania and Ruthenia [the translator used an incorrect form: “Russia”], and was brother of the King of Poland and he died without heirs. When the King of Poland succeeded to his lands, since they were far removed from Poland, the people did not desire him for ruler, and the country was divided up and thus lost.” See Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures 1435–1439*, trans. and ed. with an introduction by Malcolm Letts (London: G. Routledge, 1926), 134.

28 AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, sygn. 7312. Published in *Documenta Romaniae historica: A. Moldova*, vol. 1: (1384–1448), № 231, 325–27.

29 AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, sygn. 7379.

on friendship and help.³⁰ On December 23, 1447, Petru rejected his previous written commitments made in Teodoryk's favour for 400 Turkish golden coins.³¹

As the starosta of Kamyanets, Teodoryk annexed a number of castles along the Southern Bug River and the Chorny trade route. One of the castles was Khmilnyk, which would later become a significant centre in the Podolian Voivodeship and one of the outposts for defence from the Tatars. This action is known thanks to Jan Długosz, who describes it under the year of 1447. Aiming to bring peace to the Crown and Lithuania, Casimir IV, who had united under his rule a vast territory, accepted (or forgave, according to Długosz) the changes in the status of several Podolian cities upon request of the Crown magnates. Therefore, it is most likely that Teodoryk took under his control Medzhybizh, Khmilnyk, and Karaul, the cities that had been seized by Lithuanians backed by Podolian gentry in the first half of 1447 ("the castles of Podolian land Medzhybizh, Khmilnyk, Karaul, which the Lithuanians had conquered, [are] now reclaimed by Podolian nobles": *castra terre Podolie, Myedziboze, Chmyelnik, Karawul que Lithuani noviter occupata detinebat, cum terrigenis Podoliae recuperavit*).³² The presence of Karaul among these Podolian cities implies that Teodoryk aimed to implement the privilege of being the starosta general of Kamyanets (Medzhybizh and Khmilnyk were under the jurisdiction of the starosta general of Kamyanets) and the aforementioned document on the Black Sea coastal cities. However, it is doubtful he could take control of and govern cities located so far away from Podillya.

In addition to Teodoryk's endeavours to implement his royal privileges, the events described by Długosz demonstrate the potential of mobilization of the local gentry. They were obliged, according to the old custom and landholding privileges, to serve the king. In the absence of a king at the time of the interregnum (Casimir was enthroned on June 25, 1447),³³ the starosta of Kamyanets as the royal representative was in charge of mobilization. And Teodoryk took advantage of that.

Going back to the stipulations of the 1442 privilege, the starosta was in charge of paying tribute to the Tatar khan, which was an unusual responsibility. According to the privilege, in addition to the agreed sum of money, the king was to give an additional sum of 200 hryvnas annually in appreciation of the khan's friendship (*amicitiae continuandae causa*); after three years Teodoryk was to pay tribute at his own expense³⁴ (Oskar Halecki paid attention to this article a century ago).³⁵ As one can see in this case, the starosta of Podillya was in charge of supporting the financial commitments of the king.

30 Ibid., sygn. 7311. In the document, Teodoryk is described as *приятелем нашим панем Дыдрихом Боучацкым из Язловца панем каменецкым старостою подольским*.

31 Ibid., sygn. 7322. In the document, Teodoryk is described as *нашимъ милымъ приятелемъ вельможнымъ паномъ*.

32 Długosii, *Annales*, liber 12: 1445–1461, 52–53.

33 Wdowiszewski, *Genealogia Jagiellonów*, 91.

34 Kurtyka, "Nadanie starostwa," 94.

35 Halecki, "Z Jana Zamoyskiego," 20–21.

The first period of Władysław III's rule deserves particular attention as well. During the period from 1435 to 1440, when the king was underage, and his participation in state and foreign affairs was rather nominal, his entourage had real power and decisions were made collectively in Kraków. Since Władysław III was the king of Poland and Hungary, issues concerning the eastern border of the Polish Kingdom were approached peculiarly. On the one hand, the king, technically, handled such matters, despite his permanent residence outside the Polish Kingdom. On the other hand, the length of the distance from Buda to Podillya made any decisions irrelevant. Consequently, the royal representatives held all the cards in their hands. No wonder, then, that those occupying the position of starosta of Podillya perceived their role in relations with the king in a particular way. As seen from the list of persons performing the duties of starosta, the connections were predominantly in the hands of the Buczacki brothers, Michał Mużyło, and Teodoryk, and later were managed by the members of the family from Chodcza and the Odrowążes from Sprowa.

I would like to close by mentioning that the most effective tool Teodoryk received while serving as the starosta general of Kamyanets, along with those who served after him, was the right to mortgage royal lands up to 50 hryvnas of Polish coins (*Data ipsi facultate inscribendi 50 marcas cuiv vellet in edodem capitaneatu*).³⁶ From 1442, and up to the early sixteenth century, Teodoryk from Buczacz and his successors used this tool to grant lands to their clients and servants. Eleven land titles out of the eighteen that have been preserved were written in the time when Teodoryk performed his duties as starosta. The documents were given to Voivode Mikołaj Furman, and the starosta's servants, Vasyuta, Jan Fiol. The following starostas continued this practice: Bartosz of Buczacz granted lands to his servant Illya Chernelevych, Stanisław of Chodcza to his servant Jakub of Szuków, and Jan Odrowąż from Sprowa to his servants Tymofiy and Yuri Yeltukhes.³⁷ Thanks to this tool, the office of starosta general of Kamyanets became one of the crucial positions in the region. Even the office of the Ruthenian starosta general, launched a century beforehand and considered more prestigious, did not give such a high level of power to its holders.

Bartosz, the son of Teodoryk, received the office after his father's death and held it until he was killed in a fight with Tatars in 1457.³⁸ His brother Michał was the starosta of Kamyanets from 1458 to 1464, and then the office was purchased and part of the king's debt transferred to the office of starosta of Chervonohrod. Michał occupied the position in Chervonohrod in 1464 and also held the modest—compared to the influence of his family—offices of esquire carver of Halych (1479–1496) and chamberlain of Halych (1498–1511).³⁹ Only twenty years later the members of another branch of the Buczackis were appointed to the office of starosta of Kamyanets (see [Table 7](#)).

³⁶ Kurtyka, "Nadanie starostwa," 94.

³⁷ Віталій Михайловський, "Документи подільських (кам'янецьких) генеральних старост на заставу королівщин (1442–1506 рр.)," in *Київська старовина* 2 (2003).

³⁸ *Urządnicy podolscy*, № 190, 64, 193.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, № 546, 127–28.

The son of Michał Mużyło, Dawid, was the starosta of Podillya for a short period (1482–1482), since Casimir IV forgot about the repurchase of Kamyanyets in the 1460s (perhaps the king treated this branch of the Buczański family in a different way compared to Teodoryk and his sons), or there was no alternative in the region. The last office Dawid occupied was the office of voivode of Podillya (1480–1485).⁴⁰

The Buczańskis held crucial offices in the region for the greater part of the fifteenth century because of the choice they made in 1430 and Teodoryk's exceptional ability, which made it possible for the family to become key players not only in the Podolian Voivodeship but also in the neighbouring lands of the Ruthenian Voivodeship (see offices occupied by the Buczańskis in Tables 5, 6, and 7). Moreover, as the godfather of the Moldavian hospodar's children, Teodoryk was a negotiator between the candidates fighting for the throne and provided shelter for political refugees in his landholdings. Later starostas, not members of the Buczański family, continued these practices, though not at the same level.

The family from Chodcza and their holding of the Kamyanyets starosta office is a separate matter. They reached the peak of power in the second half of the fifteenth century and early in the sixteenth. It was Stanisław of Chodcza who purchased the office of the Starosta when it was mortgaged in 1442, and so replaced Michał, the member of the Buczański family. The necessary funds to fulfil the king's obligations to the Buczańskis were collected through the tax that Podolian noblemen agreed to pay. Długosz paid attention to this story, entitling it "The Castle and City of Kamyanyets Are Freed from Financial Obligations and the City Walls Are Rebuilt" (*Arx et civitas Kamyenyecz ex obligatione pecuniali solvitur et murus reficitur*). The castellan of Kraków, Jan of Tęczyn, the voivode of Sandomierz, Dersław from Rytwian, and the voivode of Lviv, Andrzej Odrowąż from Sprowa, as the king's representatives, were supposed to manage the campaign. The funds were collected within the Podolian Voivodeship (as Długosz notes). The nobles of Podillya took one bull per peasant and per field (... *per militares Podolie, de quolibet laneo et cmethone unum bovem se prestare obligantes* ...).⁴¹ Although they did not manage to collect the entire amount requested, enough money was paid to the Buczańskis as the king's debt for Kamyanyets, and in such a way brought an end to the Buczańskis' powerful monopoly.

Stanisław of Chodcza was not the last member of the family performing the duties of the starosta of Kamyanyets. The career of his son, also named Stanisław, illustrates that one person could keep several important offices in the Ruthenian lands of the Polish Crown only at the remote eastern border. The multiple number of offices Stanisław held distinguished him from others. In the document of 1502, his full title reads as the following: the castellan and starosta of Lviv, Halych, Terebovlya, and Kamyanyets, the hetman of Rus' and Podillya (*Stanislaus de Chodecz, castellanus et capitaneus Leopoliensis, Haliciensis, Trzebovliensis et Camyenyeczensis ac Russiae et Podoliae campiductor generalis*...).⁴² One

⁴⁰ Ibid., № 550, 129; № 574, 134; № 627, 143.

⁴¹ Długosii, *Annales*, liber 12: 1462–1480, 76–77.

⁴² *Matricularum Regni Poloniae summarum, excussis codicibus, qui in Chartophylacio Maximo Varsoviensi asservantur*, ed. Teodor Wierzbowski, pars 3: *Alexandri regis tempora complectens (1501–1506)* (Varsoviae, 1908), № 600.

person held four (!) starosta offices and the office of Lviv's castellan, and was in charge of Ruthenian and Podolian Voivodeship military units. As the starosta, he was obliged to be present during the trials, but how could that be possible? This dilemma of holding multiple offices led to the formation of clientele groups of the family from Chodcza and other noblemen, who combined several offices in one person's hands in the Ruthenian lands of the Crown in spite of the Nieszawa Statutes.

The last aspect of the work of the Starostas General of Kamyanets, albeit an interesting one, relates to the oaths of loyalty from Moldavian hospodars who swore allegiance to them as the king's representatives. Apparently, the starostas performed these duties because the king did not want to travel eastwards. However, it should be kept in mind that, according to the privilege of 1442, Teodoryk of Buczacz was to deal with the Tatars and pay them tribute. In the sixteenth century the office of the starosta general of Kamyanets continued to implement royal policy in the region. For instance, in 1552 the Moldavian hospodar Alexandru IV Lăpuşneanu took the oath of loyalty to the Polish king, but, following the old custom, he swore allegiance to the starosta of Kamyanets, Maciej Włodek from Hermanów in Bakota.⁴³

Table 7 summarizes the careers of Kamyanets starostas and demonstrates the predominance of the Buczackis, who also occupied all the starosta offices on the eastern border of the Kingdom of Poland. It is remarkable that all these people arrived in Podillya only in the fifteenth century.

The office of starosta of Kamyanets was the most desirable position in the Podolian Voivodeship, especially after 1442, although it was not the district office, nor did it confer the right to become a senator in the future. However, the office gave so much power, due to the privilege for Teodoryk of Buczacz, that it was the best position to begin a career, form one's own clientele relationships, and enhance the prestige of a family in the voivodeship and the neighbouring lands. The long-lasting occupation of the office by the Buczackis and Teodoryk of Buczacz's abilities laid the foundation of his power, as well as of his descendants in the region. Did the borderland status of the office influence the role of the Buczackis and Teodoryk? It undoubtedly did have an influence, since one of the privilege's provisions put the starosta in charge of diplomatic relations with the Tatars (to keep contact and pay the tribute), and with the Moldavian Principality, in practice. Another aspect of the office is that the starosta, namely Teodoryk of Buczacz, was supposed to build a castle on the eastern border of the voivodeship. However, he did not fulfil this obligation. It is known that the unfinished castle of Olchedayev (*castrum Olczydayow non muniret*) was mentioned among other estates of Teodoryk when his sons Michał and Jan divided the inheritance of their father in 1469.⁴⁴

⁴³ *Lietuvos Metrika: Knyga Nr. 530 (1566–1572)*, ed. Darius Baronas and Liudas Jovaiša (Vilnius: "Žara," 1999), 27–28.

⁴⁴ AGZ, vol. 12, № 3438, 330.

Table 7 Careers of the starostas of Kamyanets, 1434–1500

No	Name	Career
1	Teodoryk of Buczacz (1431–1434)	See No 6
2	Dersław Włostowki (1435–1437)	So-called starosta of Podillya (1402, 1431, 1441), starosta of Sącz (1430–1432)
3	Michał of Buczacz (1438)	<i>Starosta of Halych</i> (1414–1436), <i>Kamyanets</i> (1430, 1438), and <i>Peremyshl</i> (1437–1438); castellan of Halych (1433–1437); voivode of Podillya (1437–1438)
4	Janusz from Kobylany (1438–1440)	Starosta of Sanok (1419–1430); master of the hunt in Sandomierz (1415) and Kraków (1419–1438)
5	Piotr Poliak from Lichwin (1440–1441)	Chamberlain of Kraków (1441–1442)
6	Teodoryk of Buczacz (1442–1455)	<i>Starosta of Kamyanets</i> (1431–1434, 1442–1455)
7	Bartosz of Buczacz (1455–1457)	–
8	Michał of Buczacz (1458–1464)	Esquire carver of Halych (1479–1496); chamberlain of Halych (1498–1511)
9	Stanisław of Chodcza (1464–1474)	Starosta of Kruszwica (1456), <i>Halych</i> (1452–1474), <i>Terebovlya</i> (1471–1474), <i>Kamyanets</i> (1464–1474); Ruthenian voivode (1466–1474)
10	Andrzej Fredro (1475–1476)	<i>Starosta of Kamyanets</i> (1475–1476); castellan of Halych (1464–1471)
11	Jan Odrowąż from Sprowa (1477–1481)	<i>Starosta of Lviv</i> (1465), Zhydachiv (1465), Sambir (1465–1469), Stryj (1465), <i>Kamyanets</i> (1477–1481), <i>Halych</i> (1485); esquire carver of Sandomierz (1465–1475); voivode of Podillya (1477–1479); Ruthenian voivode (1479–1485)
12	Dawid of Buczacz (1482–1483)	Starosta of Kolomyia (1470–1484), <i>Kamyanets</i> (1482–1483); esquire carver of Kamyanets (1466–1473); chamberlain of Halych (1474–1476); voivode of Podillya (1480–1485)
13	Feliks of Paniewo (1484–1486)	Starosta of Zhydachiv (1476–1488), Chorsztyn (1474–1488), Dolyna (1479–1488), Stryj (1484); burgrave of Kraków (1479–1485); esquire carver of Sandomierz (1483–1485); castellan of Lviv (1487–1488); hetman of the Crown (1485)
14	Jakub of Buczacz (1486–1492)	<i>Starosta of Kamyanets</i> (1486–1492), Hrubieszów (1497), <i>Chełm</i> (1499–1501); castellan of Halych (1472–1485); voivode of Podillya (1485–1497); Ruthenian voivode (1498–1501)
15	Stanisław of Chodcza Junior (1495–1510)	<i>Starosta of Halych</i> (1488–1502), <i>Lviv</i> (1501–1529), <i>Terebovlya</i> (1502–1506), <i>Lubaczów</i> (1503–1529); marshal of the Crown (1505–1529); head of Current Defence of Ruthenian lands (1492–1499, 1501–1505)

District Court Officials

The middle-class noblemen in the newly established Podolian Voivodeship had, apart from the District Court officials, several other opportunities to build their careers: service to the voivode or the castellan was the fastest way to be immersed in clientele circles; service to the starosta would allow them to take district (deputy starosta, district judge, scribe) and castle (the voivode of castle) offices and become the clients or servants of the starosta. Those who took the side of the starosta general of Kamyanets received a bonus: they were able to obtain royal lands for collateral (see above). Another opportunity, which did not exclude the paths above, was to be appointed to one of the court offices. The appointments to these offices officially depended on the king, but the king initiated hardly any of these nominations. Rather, he listened to the opinions of powerful men in his entourage and high-ranking officials in the region.

Given the sources available to date, the following court officials of the Podolian Voivodeship are known: great lord of the army, standard-bearer, cup-bearer/subcup-bearer, master of the hunt, sword-bearer, esquire carver/steward.⁴⁵ The titles of the offices describe the responsibilities that, in theory, the officials were supposed to carry out, although it is hard to imagine them literally performing the duties of the sword-bearer or the cup-bearer in the fifteenth-century Podolian Voivodeship. Only the lord of the army (*wojski*) assisted the castellan during the *pospolite ruszenie*, which occurred in Podillya just a few times: the Moldavian campaign in 1450, the mobilization after the siege of Bilhorod by Tatars in 1485, and the Moldavian venture of King Jan I Olbracht in 1497.

The rest of the offices were merely honorary titles, as in other provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, though we should not be misled by this. Although there is little information about these offices because of the lack of Kamyanets District and City Court documents, the fragmentary mentions of court officials enable us to make some assumptions. There was fierce competition for the court offices among the most influential families of the voivodeship. Table 7 shows that only the office of the esquire carver/steward of Kamyanets contributed to the further career, because the representatives of the Podolian elite, namely Hrytsko Kierdey, Mikołaj Bedrych, Dawid from Buczac, and Adam Świercz, held it in the fifteenth century. Apparently, the wealthiest families of the voivodeship were so ambitious that the offices, even the court ones, were not enough for them.

Members of the families whose estates and clientele relations set them apart from other noblemen occupied the rest of the court offices. For instance, Paweł Szczukowski, the master of the hunt of Kamyanets from 1455 to 1456, belonged to the family that in 1442/43 had received land titles for Bakota and neighbouring villages, for which Krystyn Szczukowski paid 1,500 hryvnias of Polish coins.⁴⁶ Jan from Yagilnytsya, the standard-bearer of Kamyanets from 1485 to 1500, was the son of Zygmunt from Yagilnytsya, the district judge of Kamyanets with thirty-two years of service. These are only several

⁴⁵ Uncertainty over the fifteenth-century title names of esquire carver/steward and cup-bearer/subcup-bearer has led to errors in documents. In Latin-written documents this uncertainty is indicated as *dapifer* and *subdapifer*, *pincerna* and *subpincerna*.

⁴⁶ ZDM, vol. 8, № 2357, 170–71; № 2448, 253–54.

examples, but not an exhaustive list. However, the officials of the Podolian Voivodeship had their unofficial leaders, and they were neither the Buczackis nor the Kierdeys.

Silesians belonging to the Świerczek family of arms were the leaders in the number of offices they occupied between 1434 and 1500. There were nine such members of the family: Bedrych, the castellan of Kamyanets (1438–1441); his son Mikołaj Bedrych, the esquire carver (1464–1466) and the castellan (1467–1492); Mikołaj Czorny, the deputy district judge (1437–1439) and district judge (1439–1447); his son Michał from Babshyn, the standard-bearer (1476–1471); Adam Jarosz Świercz from Husyatyn, the esquire carver (1482); Andrzej Świercz, the chamberlain (1500–1510); Jurko from Świerczkowice, the cup-bearer (1439–1447); Piotr (Piechno) Adamkowicz, the standard-bearer (1439–1458); Paweł Świercz, and the cup-bearer (1450). They outnumbered the more wealthy and powerful families of the Kierdey and Buczacki, of whom only six and eight persons, respectively, were officials of the Podolian Voivodeship. Obviously, only two of the Świercz family members were the castellans of Kamyanets, but the number is still impressive.

I cannot argue definitively that they all were close relatives, even though this possibility should not be ignored. It would be problematic to say that there was some strategy behind these appointments. However, they all might be considered as a group with a sense of common origin due to their usage of the Świerczek coat of arms. The peculiar features of the Polish Kingdom were the family of arms fraternities, and those belonging to such a fraternity were considered to have a common ancestor.⁴⁷

Everyone who used the Świerczek coat of arms in the fifteenth century was able not only to find a new home in Podillya and the Podolian Voivodeship but also to take a significant place among the local nobility. Apart from the castellans of Kamyanets Bedrych and Mikołaj Bedrych, standing out among other members of the Świerczeks are Mikołaj Czorny and Andrzej Świercz, who occupied important judicial offices in the voivodeship. Holding these positions allowed them to become one of the greatest landowners in the late fifteenth century, possessing Smotrych, one of the ancient capitals of Podillya, as collateral in 1448.⁴⁸ The division of Mikołaj Bedrych's heritage between his sons Andrzej and Michał in 1496 revealed the size of Świercz's landholding in the Podolian Voivodeship.⁴⁹ In the late fifteenth century the Świerczes, the descendants of Bedrych, the first castellan of Kamyanets, owned thirty-three villages with settlements in northwestern and northern parts of Podolian Voivodeship (almost the entire Smotrych County), and their estate was second only to the Buczackis' and the Odrowążes'. Even though the Świerczes, including landholdings of another member of the groups, were not the largest

47 Ludwik Wyrstek, "Ród Dragów-Sasów na Węgrzech i Rusi Halickiej," in *Rocznik Polskiego towarzystwa heraldycznego*, vol. 11, ed. Władysław Semkowicz (Kraków, 1932). For the criteria of the family of arms in genealogical research, with medieval examples, see Jan Wroniszewski, "Kryteria herbowe w badaniach genealogicznych," in *Genealogia: Problemy metodyczne w badaniach nad polskim społeczeństwem średniowiecznym na tle porównawczym*, ed. Jacek Hertl (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1982), 119–30.

48 *ZDM*, vol. 8, № 2267, 88–89.

49 Pułaski, "Stare osady w ziemie kamienieckiej," 54–57.

landowners of the voivodeship, their influence in the circles of the middle-class nobility and the gentry should have been significant.

The Świerczes, for whom Podillya became their home under the reign of the Koriatovyches, are a good example of the adaptation and assimilation of newcomers from Central Europe on the contested borderland. It is more than likely that their ability to adapt turned out very helpful, as the family survived a number of rulers and laws as they changed during half a century: Fedir and Vasyl Koriatovych (Podillya Principality until 1394), Spytek of Melsztyn (western Podillya, 1395–1399), Duke Švitrigaila (Podillya Principality, 1400–1401), Władysław II Jagiełło (the Ruthenian domain of the king, 1402–1411), Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas (Podillya, 1411–1430), Władysław II Jagiełło (the Ruthenian domain of the king, 1430–1434), King Władysław III (Podillya Voivodeship, 1434–1444), Casimir IV (Podillya Voivodeship, 1444–1492). The Świerczes found common ground with each of them when considering the offices they had occupied since 1392, when Bedrych witnessed the Koriatovyches' documents as the voivode of Cherkasy, until 1438, when he became the castellan of Kamyanets.⁵⁰ Moreover, they received land titles from almost all the rulers of Podillya. Perhaps their Central European origin played a crucial role in winning them favourable positions. Whatever it was, something was certainly making them different from the others, since they had successfully settled there and gained a massive estate in the late fifteenth century.

Could those officials coming from the Tatars have similar careers? They could, but only after their conversion to Christianity. Religion was a vital factor in the Kierdeys' rapid adaptation not only in Podillya but also in the other Ruthenian lands. Remarkably, not all the members of the family settling in the Kingdom of Poland were Catholics. Although Hrytsko Kierdeyovych, the starosta of Kamyanets appointed by Švitrigaila in the early fifteenth century, was buried in his own chapel in Lviv Cathedral, the other Kierdeys holding powerful offices in Chełm land fell under Ruthenian influence. Vanko Kierdey from Kvasyliv, as castellan of Chełm, initiated and sponsored the translation of the Wiślica Statutes into Ruthenian.⁵¹ Seven members of the Kierdeys held various offices in the Podolian Voivodeship thanks to Hrytsko Kierdey's long career as voivode of Podillya (1438–1462) and there were three chamberlains from the Kierdeys in the fifteenth century (see Table 6). The history of the Kierdeys living in Ruthenian lands demonstrates that the lives and careers of Kierdey family members depended on their choice of faith and environment. There was hardly any discrimination against them because of their ethnic origin—or, at least, there is no evidence of any prejudice against the Kierdeys. The family members, both Catholic and Orthodox, took their places in the local noble communities very quickly. The Catholic members of the Kierdeys gained estates and top-ranking offices in the voivodeship. The history of the Kierdeys in Podillya is an example of a successful career in an open society on the contested border.

Table 8 provides the list of persons holding court offices in the Podolian Voivodeship in the fifteenth century. It also shows their promotions.

⁵⁰ Мікульський, "Новая грамота князя Фёдора Кориатовича 1392 г.," 150; *Urzędnicy podolscy*, № 189, 63–64.

⁵¹ Bardach, "Ruskie przekłady," 22–23.

Table 8 The District Court offices in the Podolian Voivodeship, 1434–1500^a

Nº	Name	Career
STANDARD-BEARER OF KAMYANETS		
1	Pitor (Piechno) Adamkowicz from Swieczkowo (1439–1458)	–
2	Michał from Babshyn (1467–1471)	–
3	Jan from Yagilnytsya (1485–1500)	Tax collector in Podillya Voivodeship (1493)
GREATER LORD OF THE ARMY OF KAMYANETS		
1	Bartolomey from Bliznów (1436)	–
2	Michał of Podfilipy (1471)	–
GREATER LORD OF THE ARMY OF CHERVONOHROD		
1	Paweł from Petryliv (1472)	–
MASTER CUP-BEARER OF KAMYANETS		
1	Jurko Świerczowicz (1439–1447)	–
2	Paweł Świercz from Vahnyvtsi (1450)	–
3	Heronim Jan Nemyrya from Kochovyci (1470–1480)	–
MASTER OF THE ROYAL HUNT OF KAMYANETS		
1	Paweł Szczukowski (1455–1456)	–
2	Piotr from Podfilipy (1464)	–
SWORD-BEARER OF KAMYANETS		
1	Jan Kierdey from Orynyn (1464)	–
2	Jan Czech from Orynyn ^b (1470–1471)	–
ESQUIRE CARVER OF KAMYANETS		
	Hrytsko Kierdey (1464) ^c	Chamberlain of Kamyanets (1474–1486)
1	Mikołaj Bedrych (1464–1466)	Castellan of Kamyanets (1467–1492)
2	Dawid of Buczac (1466–1473)	Starosta of Kolomyia (1470–1484), <i>starosta of Kamyanets</i> (1482–1483); chamberlain of Halych (1474–1476); voivode of Podillya (1480–1485)
3	Adam Swiercz (1480–1487)	Standard-bearer of Kamyanets (1507–1518)

Table 8 (Cont.)

No	Name	Career
LORD HIGH STEWARD OF KAMYANETS		
1	Jan Kruszyna from Galów (1440–1441)	–
2	Hrytsko Kierdey (1463–1473)	Chamberlain of Kamyanets (1474–1486)
3	Paweł Marzec from Chemerovtsi (1478–1491)	–

a The table is based on “Urzednicy podolscy”; AGAD, MK, sygn. 77, AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, sygn. 8245; ЦДІАУЛ, ф. 134 “Колекція документів про шляхетські маєтки на території Руського, Волинського, Подільського та інших воєводств,” оп. 1, спр. 489; ф. 181, оп. 2, спр. 1649, 1653; and Kurtyka, “Z dziejów walki.”

b Given the place of origin and the same name, the two are probably one person. The Kierdeys owned Orynyn during the fifteenth century. It is unknown why Orynyn was recorded as Jan Czech in 1471.

c Apparently the scribe copying the document in 1548 erroneously called Hrytsko Kierdey the esquire carver (*Hriczkone de Orinyn dapifero*) instead of the steward (*subdapifero*), the position he had held since 1463.

A few groups held court offices in the Podolian Voivodeship with a prevalence of non-local (newcomer) families. However, only the office of the esquire carver/steward served as a starting point for career growth. The case of Dawid of Buczacz, the esquire carver of Kamyanets in 1466–1473, illustrates a certain trend in the second half of the fifteenth century, when even the Buczackis had to begin their careers from low-status positions before receiving promotion in the future. And Dawid succeeded. But, for the rest of the court officials, these positions were the only offices they could possibly hold between 1434 and 1500. However, even holding these posts, they differed from the middle-class noblemen of the Podolian Voivodeship, who had neither favour at court nor court offices.

Three designations included in the subheadings of the subchapter serve as helpful markers for the whole history of the Podolian Voivodeship from the time of its establishment in 1434. The viability of the new voivodeship required district offices, which were the essential prerequisite for the existence of the Polish Kingdom's provinces. Voivode and castellan sat at the top of the hierarchy of offices. Holding these two offices had been a certain sinecure for the ruling families of the Ruthenian lands in the Crown since the foundation of the voivodeship. No wonder, then, that the first voivode of Podillya was Piotr Odrowąż from Sprowa. Until the end of the fifteenth century the position of voivode was held by members of the Buczackis (holding the position most often), the Kierdeys (the longest service in the post by one person), the Chodeckis, and the Fredros. The castellan of Kamyanets was a step to the position of the voivode, but the former was held by middle-class noblemen, namely Bedrych from Bedrychovtsi, Mikołaj Podoliec, and Mikołaj Bedrych, the son of Bedrych.

The new law meant new instruments of justice, such as the District Court, City Court, and Chamberlain Court. Their establishment in the voivodeship laid the foundation for the implementation of Crown law. It also led to the appearance of a number of judicial officials, such as starosta of the City Court, chamberlain of the Chamberlain Court, district judge, deputy district judge, and district scribe of the District Court. This group of officials is thought to have been the core of the Podolian nobility, since appointments to these offices required living in the voivodeship, credibility among noblemen, and the patronage of the authorities.

The court officials served as a peculiar recruitment pool. Members of the ruling families and middle-class nobility received the court offices, and, to the former, these positions served as the starting point of their careers, but, to the latter, these positions remained the only options available. A career development not limited to the Podolian Voivodeship was available mostly for the ruling families only. Promotion from one of the court offices to judicial office was hardly possible, due to the long-lasting service terms of the judicial offices, which constituted the career peak for their holders.

The office of starosta of Kamyianets was notable among other offices for its long existence, since the mid-1370s, in contrast to the rest of the offices in the Podolian Voivodeship. Given the status of Podillya as a contested borderland area, Władysław II Jagiełło and Vytautas used this office for strengthening their own position in the region in the fifteenth century. In 1442 Władysław III signed a privilege granting the starosta general of Kamyianets a range of powers; consequently, the officials holding this office became *de facto* the principal individuals not only in the voivodeship but also in the whole region.

The people who held the district and city offices in the Podolian Voivodeship moved to Podillya in the fifteenth century, except for the Świerczes. They settled in the new voivodeship thanks to landholdings and offices granted by the king. The origin and diversity of the Podolian nobility will be discussed in the next subchapter.

PATRONS AND CLIENTS: THE FORMATION OF A PATRONAGE SYSTEM AMONG THE PODOLIAN NOBILITY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: THE BUCZACKI CLIENTELE CIRCLE

PATRON-CLIENT RELATIONSHIPS HAVE been known since ancient times. The territory that had been under the control of the Roman Republic and later of the Roman Empire felt their influence. Since the times of Theodor Mommsen, historians have pointed out patronage as one of the underlying social institutions of Rome.¹ The collapse of the empire did not destroy the clientele relations. By adopting the experience of the classical age, the medieval period adjusted and significantly expanded these social practices, which had been based on an unequal relationship between patron and client. Clientele existed in every region of Europe. Although it had its regional peculiarities, based on local tribal customs, the rules of relationships between the strong and the weak sides would nevertheless be the same.

In medieval Europe, two types of clientage existed, namely the horizontal and the vertical. The first type, horizontal clientage, implies relationships between friends, relatives, colleagues, and allies based on the clientelistic patterns, although the difference between a client and patron is hardly perceptible. The second type, vertical clientage, appears to be more obvious in terms of the difference between a client and a patron, since their relationships are similar to lord-servant relationships, though they share the same social background. Despite the differences, these two types of relationships are called clientelistic ones, since they, according to Sean Gilsdorf, have one common feature: both are imbalanced, although it is more evident in the second case than in the first.²

The nobility of late medieval Podillya, despite its diversity, has been similar to any community of the Polish Kingdom and European states of that time. The meaning of the client-patron relationships in Podillya was no different from, for instance, the clientelistic relationships in France or Italy. However, in the case of Podillya, the reconstruction of clientelistic relationships is based on only a few sources. The starosta general of Kamyanyets was presumably the primary beneficiary of the system, with the largest number of clients. The main difference here is the usage of the *client* or *servant* definitions, which are similar in form but different in meaning. A *servant* and *service*

¹ For one of the current studies on the history of regional clientelism, see *Foreign Clientelae in the Roman Empire: A Reconsideration*, ed. Martin Jehne and Francisco Pina Polo (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2015).

² Sean Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends: Intercession and Aristocratic Politics in Carolingian and Ottonian Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 43-44.

imply a complete dependence on the patron, whereas a *client* and his relationship with a patron mean bilateral cooperation involving two sides.

The study of societies—and Podolian society is not an exception—consists in investigating its structure and hierarchy, the networks between its members, incentives in the form of career development and social mobility, and punishments, including exclusion from society. I will apply the sociological method to analyzing the nobility of Podillya through studying its clientelistic structure, which facilitates understanding of the events and people of the fifteenth century. Summarizing the various ways of receiving landholdings and the mechanisms leading to a certain privilege for a certain person, one can condense them into two provisional examples.

In the first example, we can learn from a document that a lord rewards a prominent and wealthy person. The document states that this person received a reward in the form of a large estate or a precious gift for his outstanding achievements (without giving any further details). I make my suggestions from the document's implications—a method that has a high level of accuracy. However, the motivation, and probably the main reasoning, behind the granting of the reward would be not the outstanding achievements but, instead, the relationships between the nobleman and the lord. Sympathy, appreciation, desperation, fear, and hatred—they all could be the reasons or the incentives for the lord's decisions, albeit not stated in the document. To reveal hidden motivations, we would have to analyze all the information available in the medieval documents, which will still never directly explain why a lord made this or that decision.

The second example is less complicated. The same lord rewards an ordinary nobleman, who probably distinguished himself in some way. The simplest explanation is that either the king was a witness of the nobleman's deed, or it happened in response to the lord's expressed will. But what if it did not? How did the king or the court learn about the heroic act of the nobleman? Most likely there was a mediator between them, someone known to the king and who knows our imaginary hero. And, while it is easier to see the links between the king and the wealthy and powerful nobleman, because more information is available about wealthy and prominent people, our modest hero is mentioned once and provides only a small amount of detail compared to the broader panorama of the nobility. If the king is neither the witness nor the initiator, how can we explain his attention, kindness, and generosity to the modest hero?

To answer this question, I can apply a method of studying societies, known since ancient times, that is based on identifying and analyzing the links between the powerful nobleman and the modest hero. They both belong to one social class, the nobility, and they are equal, in theory. However, one small yet eloquent detail demonstrates that they are not equal. The first owns two cities and fifty villages, while the second has only a part of a village. The recent book by the Polish historian Antoni Mączak is titled *Unequal Friendship*, reflecting the essence of this type of relationship between those whom historians call patrons and their clients, who they are dependent on and unequal to.³

3 Antoni Mączak, *Nierówna przyjaźń: Układy klientalne w perspektywie historycznej* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2003).

In the context of the Podolian Voivodeship, the clientele circle of the Buczackis is fully presented in sources thanks to the long-lasting tenure of the starosta office by members of the family from 1430 to 1464, with only short breaks. The number of their clients began to increase in 1442, when King Władysław III granted Teodoryk of Buczacz the privilege for the office of starosta general of Kamyanets, with a wide range of powers (see [Chapter 10](#)).

After receiving far-reaching and extraordinary powers from the king's privilege for Teodoryk, the starosta of Kamyanets became de facto the first person in the Podolian Voivodeship. The right to grant royal lands on collateral of up to 50 hryvnias on behalf of the king was a unique tool that had no analogs in the Ruthenian lands of the Crown. Landholdings became a valuable criterion defining the status of a person, while a near-royal right of granting land titles to subjects made the starosta general of Kamyanets the first person not only in the voivodeship but also in the neighbouring areas. Only the starosta and the king had the right to grant lands. This factor led to the enlargement of the clientelistic circle of the starosta in the Podolian Voivodeship, making his group of clients the largest and the most powerful in Podillya. Neither the voivode nor the castellan possessed such a resource for encouraging noblemen to cooperate with them. Moreover, four out of nine voivodes were members of the Buczackis (see [Chapter 10](#)), provoking a new research question of whether the servants and clients of the family belonged to one clientelistic circle or group. In theory, it might have been so, yet it would not have represented the realities of the fifteenth century. Despite close collaboration by Michał, Michał Mużyło, and Teodoryk, each of three brothers had his own estates, while only Teodoryk's estate was located in the Podolian Voivodeship, in addition to the broad geography of the starosta offices occupied by the Buczacki brothers (see [Table 5](#) in [Chapter 10](#)). It clearly demonstrates that each of them formed a separate clientelistic circle. These groups might have cooperated when needed, but they existed quite independently.

Apart from the Buczackis, Hrytsko Kierdey had chances to form a significant clientele circle in the Podolian Voivodeship. He served as voivode between 1438 and 1462, had a large estate, and held the office longer than anyone else in the fifteenth century. Piotr Odrowąż from Sprowa, the owner of a spacious estate with centres in Zinkiv and Sataniw, had the same opportunities as well when he was voivode of Podillya. However, they both lacked the office of starosta in the Podolian Voivodeship (see [Table 5](#) in [Chapter 10](#)), in contrast to the Buczackis; therefore, their clientele groups have rarely been indicated in the fragmentary sources that have survived until now. Nevertheless, the lack of information does not mean that such circles never existed. Moreover, according to Maciej Wilamowski, the clientele group of the Odrowążes in the Ruthenian lands of the Crown in the fifteenth century was the largest one, thanks to their appointments to the profitable positions of starosta, especially the starosta of Sambir.⁴ Concerning the Kierdeys, the activities of the family in terms of the enlargement of their estate concentrated in the

⁴ Maciej Wilamowski, "Familia dworska Piotra i Andrzeja Odrowążów Sprowskich, wojewodów i starostów ruskich," in *Polska i jej sąsiedzi w późnym średniowieczu*, ed. Krzysztof Ożóg and Stanisław Szczur (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2000), 273–322.

Chełm land, where Hrytsko occupied the position of starosta of Krasnystaw from 1433 to 1462.

The starosta was in charge of the City Court, where all the officials were his clients and servants. In the fifteenth-century Podolian Voivodeship, the City Court was in place only in Kamyanets. Officials such as the deputy starosta, the city judge, and the city scribe, as mentioned in documents, seemed to belong to the clientele circle of the starosta. The starosta's clientele circle was likely to include witnesses of the starosta's documents (see below) and jurats, individuals present at the trial in the role of affiants, who confirmed that the trial had taken place and whose presence during trials made the judgments legitimate in the eyes of the community.⁵ At the time, court was one of the best reagents to trace similar clientelistic links. Regardless of the competitive nature of the court, law, and lawyers, the number of the proponents on each side of the dispute served the most crucial role in the argument at the trials: the higher the number of supporters, or clients and servants, the greater the chances of winning a trial the side had. The list of those who might have belonged to a clientele circle also includes persons serving in the starosta's and wealthy noblemen's estates. Although it is not always feasible to make a distinction between clients and servants, they were mostly servants, with certain exceptions.⁶

From 1430 to 1464 the office of starosta of Kamyanets was controlled by members of the Buczacki family, except for the short period of Derśław from Włostowice's appointment from 1435 to 1437, and Janusz of Kobylany's and Piotr Poliak from Lichwin's appointments between 1438 and 1442. The long duration of the tenure of the Buczackis made Teodoryk a very powerful nobleman. It also made his current office one of the most desirable posts among the various officials and served as the factor that united the nobility living there. Teodoryk of Buczacz, as well as other people occupying the position, formed numerous groups of rich and poor noblemen and surrounded themselves with clients and servants, which made the family even more powerful. Another reason for the lengthy occupancy of the office of starosta of Kamyanets was caused by the fact that the city had been mortgaged to the Buczackis family in 1442 (see [Chapter 10](#)). After uniting the Hungarian and Polish Kingdoms in 1440, the young King Władysław III was in need of money for military campaigns against the Turks. He therefore mortgaged the offices of starostas, castles, and cities, which was a common practice at that time.⁷

The influence of the Buczacki family was based on their holding of all the offices of starosta on the northeastern border of the Polish Kingdom by Michał Mużyło and Teodoryk. They controlled not only the local nobility but also all the communication routes and eastern trade. On *via valachica* and its two fragments outside the Moldavian Principality, the first two cities in the Polish Kingdom on the border were Snyatyn and

⁵ Witold Sawicki, *Assesorowie w sądach ziemskich i grodzkich na Rusi w XV wieku* (Warszawa, 1929), 5.

⁶ Wilamowski, "Familia dworska," 279.

⁷ Janusz Kurtyka, "Problem klientelli możnowładczej w Polsce późnośredniowiecznej," in *Genealogia: Władza i społeczeństwo w Polsce średniowiecznej*, ed. Andrzej Radziwiński and Jan Wroniszewski (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1999), 66n31.

Kamyanets. The starosta of Snyatyn was Michał Mużyło, while the starosta of Kamyanets was Teodoryk, and then his sons after his death. The amounts of money available to the Buczackis have been indicated in several documents regarding Teodoryk's debts to a merchant (according to other information, a jeweller) named Giuliano from Caffa, to whom the starosta owed 200 złoty.⁸ In 1448 Teodoryk's wife, Katarzyna, put up collateral in the form of her estates to her husband's guarantor, Andrzej Odrowąż from Sprowa (he was the Ruthenian voivode and the Ruthenian starosta general at that time) and the castellan of Lublin, Kresław of Kurozwęki, so that Teodoryk could pay his debt to Giuliano from Caffa.⁹ Then the king heard about this case, and on January 5, 1453, almost five years later, Casimir IV ordered Teodoryk not to use force and told Andrzej Odrowąż to take matters into his own hands.¹⁰ In 1458, after the death of Teodoryk and Giuliano from Caffa, the District Court of Kamyanets confirmed that Michał of Buczac, the son of Teodoryk, had to pay his father's part of the debt to Giuliano's son in the amount of 700 kopas of groschens and 4 Hungarian ducats.¹¹ This amount seems to have been to be sufficient, because this case disappears from the later judicial documents. Thus, the office of the starosta of Kamyanets was not only an influential position but also a profitable post. The control over territory and trading routes that it gave enabled the starosta to use it to his own benefit, which was likely to be substantial.

The Clients of the Buczackis in Podillya

The clientele circle of the Buczackis covered all the locations of their estates and all the posts where they held district and city offices. This territory was not limited by Podillya but also included the Ruthenian lands of the Crown. The main factor that contributed to the formation and existence of this circle was the consolidation of a number of offices of starosta on the border, such as Kamyanets, Halych, Chervonohrod, Snyatyn, and Kolomyia, in the Buczackis' hands. Individuals falling into the Buczackis' sphere of influence had different social, property, and ethnic backgrounds. The long duration of the Buczackis' hold on these offices functioned as a magnet for noblemen looking for patronage from the king in terms of receiving further offices and landholdings, as well as trying to build a career in the cities controlled by the Buczackis.

I now turn my attention to people who were under the influence of the Buczackis in the Podolian Voivodeship, and their clients and servants in the neighbouring Halych lands of the Ruthenian Voivodeship, namely Halych and Terebovlya Counties. This territorial limitation is caused by the lack of judicial books from the fifteenth century for Podillya, whereas the judicial books of Halych are available and provide information about the servants and clients of the Buczacki family in the Ruthenian lands of the Polish Crown. The officials of Kamyanets, servants of the Buczackis, and their representatives

⁸ AGZ, vol. 10, № 97, 6; № 103, 7; № 104, 7.

⁹ Ibid., № 97, 6.

¹⁰ Ibid., № 103–4, 7.

¹¹ AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, sygn. 7319.

in the courts will be discussed. In addition, I will analyze the witnesses of the documents signed by the starosta to determine who the clients and servants of the Buczackis were, and whether all of them should be so called.

Looking at the people from the Buczackis' clientele circle, I will not aim to present different views on the definitions of "a servant" or "a client" in historiography.¹² Instead, the persons belonging to the Buczackis' realm of influence will be divided into inner/narrow and outer/broad circles, corresponding to the suggestion made by Janusz Kurtyka regarding the division of clientelism into two types: service and honorary. The theory of inner and outer circles suggests that, the farther from the centre of the circle, the smaller the number of links will be between a patron in the centre of the circle and those who are in its orbit. I can support the use of this division applied to late medieval Podillya by the document of Moldavian hospodar Bogdan II, written on December 2, 1449, in which he asked the starosta of Kamyanets and Podillya, Teodoryk of Buczacz from Yazlovets (*у приятелемъ ис паномъ Детрихомъ Боучацкимъ з Язловца, старостію Каменецкимъ и Подольскимъ*), for help. According to the agreement concluded against Bogdan's political opponent, Alexandrel, the son of Iliasz, and his mother, Teodoryk committed to aiding him together with his council (*исъ оусею своею радю*).¹³

The word *рада* ("council") was used widely in documents written in Ruthenian in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They are mostly royal or princely documents, in which the "council" was used in terms of a king's or a prince's entourage or close circle.¹⁴ The definition is not always used properly, since sometimes it implies people close to a king or a prince, although it refers to all who are present during the (re)writing of a document. As Lidia Korczak has proved, if we accept that the "council" consisted of all the people mentioned in a document, their number would have been too large. For instance, in the agreement of Vytautas and the city of Dorpat (signed on May 15, 1396), the economic council would have consisted of the Bishop of Vilnius, the whole chapter, and Catholic boyars.¹⁵

In the document above, the council does not mean a family, since a few lines below it was written that Teodoryk was to help Bogdan together with his clan and brothers "and has to become our good friend together with his whole family and brothers" (*имаеть стати нашъ милы приятель съ оусимъ своимъ родомъ и братиями*).¹⁶ The problem is that the word "brothers" may refer either to siblings and cousins/relatives,

¹² There are many works in Polish historiography dedicated to this topic. For the late medieval period, see a significant theoretical study by Janusz Kurtyka: J. Kurtyka, "Problem klienteli," 47–124.

¹³ *CE*, vol. 3, № 34, 40. For relations between the Buczackis and Moldavian Principality from the 1430s to the 1460s, see Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота*, 136–51.

¹⁴ The average number of examples is several hundreds. See the definition of the word in the *Old Ukrainian Vocabulary: Словник староукраїнської мови XIV–XV ст.*, vol. 2: *Н–Ф* (Київ: Наукова думка, 1978), 184.

¹⁵ Lidia Korczak, *Litewska rada wielkosiążęca w XV wieku* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1998), 15.

¹⁶ *CE*, vol. 3, № 34, 41.

or to people of the same social status, supporters, or friends.¹⁷ In the case of Teodoryk, “brothers” could have meant either his inner circle or all his servants and clients.

Two types of clientele circles, similar to the Podolian cases, existed at the other end of Europe, in Scotland. Remarkably, Englishmen were treated as newcomers in Scotland.¹⁸ Analyzing the Scottish clientele, Alison Cathcart points out that there were two levels of clientage, namely internal and external. An internal clientage of a clan chief, according to Cathcart, consisted of relatives and related to a clan members of other clans (“fine”), as well as persons and families linked with a clan by agreement (“manrent”) or being supported (“fosterage”) by a clan and therefore dependent on it in social and economic ways. The dependent members of an internal clientage accepted the patronage of a clan’s “caterans” (armed persons).¹⁹ An external clientage comprised those who had become members as a result of marriages or bonds of friendship.²⁰

Who belonged to the inner circle or the internal clientage of the Buczackis? Apart from family members, this group was made up of the castle officials in the castles/cities that were under the Buczackis’ control. First of all, this is the castle of Kamyanets, which had been a mansion of the starosta general of Kamyanets since 1442. Teodoryk and his sons, Bartosz and Michał, had occupied the office of the starosta general of Kamyanets for more than twenty years. Second, the castle in Halych, the centre of Halych land of the Ruthenian domain and then of the Ruthenian Voivodeship. From 1414 to 1436 Michał from Buczacz held the position of starosta in Halych. The starosta offices in Chervonohrod, Snyatyn, and Kolomyia come next on the list, since the Buczackis controlled them for a long time. Due to the mortgage, the city, the castle, and the County of Chervonohrod became de facto the private property of the Buczackis.²¹ The lack of sources makes it impossible to reconstruct the structure and hierarchy of the fifteenth-century castle officials. The earliest castle books of Halych have indicated the following officials: castle judge (*iudex castrensis*), deputy starosta (*vicecapitaneus, subcapitaneus*), chamberlain/steward of the starosta (*camerarius capitanei*), and castle guard (*custos castris*).²²

The castle officials of Kamyanets included the castle voivodes Mikołaj Furman from Miliyovtsi (1444)²³ and Jakub Jaworski (1456),²⁴ castle judge Jan (1449),²⁵ and scribe

¹⁷ *Словник староукраїнської мови XIV–XV ст.*, vol. 1: А–М (Київ: Наукова думка, 1977), 120–21.

¹⁸ Alison Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage: Highland Clanship 1451–1609* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 59–98.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 99–128.

²¹ The king’s debts for which Chervonohrod and its county was put up as collateral have never been paid back.

²² AGZ, vol. 12, 477–79.

²³ AGAD, tzw. ML, Dz. IV B, sygn. 17, k. 22–24 v. Mikołaj Furman from Ostrow received Miliyovtsi as a fiefdom from Władysław III on September 29, 1442: AGAD, MK, sygn. 89, k. 125v–126. Then he was called Mikołaj from Miliyovtsi.

²⁴ *АЮЗР*, pt. 8, vol. 1, № 14, 21–22.

²⁵ AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, sygn. 7307.

Senko (1449).²⁶ The latter was called the Ruthenian scribe of Teodoryk of Buczacz in a document (*nobilis Schenkone notary ruthenici generosi Theodrici de Buczacz*), indicating Senko's high status thanks to the contact by the starosta of Kamyanets with Moldavian Principality, where the official language was Ruthenian. Unfortunately, no single document from the fifteenth century written in Ruthenian on behalf of the starosta's chancellery of Kamyanets has come to light to date. However, the mention of a Ruthenian-speaking scribe serves as evidence that such documents existed.

The office of starosta entailed the existence of the starosta's justice—that is, the Castle Court—as well as the starosta's chancellery required the existence of the office of scribe. The right of the starosta general of Kamyanets to mortgage estates on behalf of the king for up to 50 hryvnias confirms the existence of a chancellery, as well as the office of scribe, on a regular basis, which can be traced in the original documents that have survived so far.²⁷ The question of whether the duties of the starosta's scribe and the scribe of the Castle Court were separate or the same person was in charge of both offices remains unanswered, as the sources have designated them merely as "scribes." The following is a chronological list of people who witnessed documents as the scribes of the Buczackis.

1445 Martin, a nobleman, the scribe of Jan of Buczacz (*Nobilis Martinus Notarius domini Iohannis de Buczacz, Martinus Notarius domini Capitanei Trebowliensis*).²⁸

1447 Martin, a nobleman, the scribe of Michał of Buczacz (*Nobiles Martinus Notarius domini Michaelis de Buczacz*).²⁹

1450–1452 Senko, the scribe of Teodoryk of Buczacz (*Sienkone notario nostro, nobilis Schenkone notary ruthenici generosi Theodrici de Buczacz*).³⁰

1456 Mikołaj from Piaszczyc, a nobleman, the scribe of Bartosz of Buczacz (*Nicolao de Piaszczece notario*).³¹

1461 Simon, a nobleman, the scribe of Katarzyna of Monastyrsko (*nobil. Simon Notarius generose Katherine de Manasturzuska*).³²

1466–1467 Mikołaj, a nobleman, the scribe of Michał of Jazłowiec (*Nob. Nicolaus Notarius Michaelis [de laszlowiecz]*).³³

1475 Jan, a nobleman, the scribe of Jakub of Buczacz, the castellan of Halych (*Nobil. Iohannes Notarius mfi. Castil. Halic.*), and the procurator of the employed peasants and all the people (*procurator laboriosorum kmethonum ... ab istis hominibus omnibus*).³⁴

26 Ibid., sygn. 8506.

27 Михайловський, "Документи подільських."

28 AGZ, vol. 12, № 1594, 143; № 1609, 144.

29 Ibid., № 1770, 155.

30 АЮЗР, part. 8, vol. 1, № 12, 8–19; AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, sygn. 8506.

31 АЮЗР, pt. 8, vol. 1, № 14, 21–22.

32 AGZ, vol. 2, № 60, 197; vol. 12, № 3894, 383.

33 Ibid., vol. 12, № 3322–23, 316; № 3327–29, 317.

34 Ibid., № 3736, 367; № 3797–3807, 374; № 3857–60, 379.

1482–1483 Jakub from Damshko, the scribe of Dawid of Buczacz (*domino Iacobo de Dampszko protunc Notario magnifici domini Davidis de Buczacz*).³⁵

The list demonstrates that the scribe used not only to perform his duties but also to fulfil the functions of an administrator of certain estates and manager of people working there, as in the case of noble Jan. Although this fragmentary evidence does not allow one to make any general conclusions about the scribes, it helps denote the scribes of castle courts, where the Buczackis held the positions of starosta, as well as their personal scribes. It is also safe to conclude that there was a scribe in Kamyanets in charge of documents written in Ruthenian. Remarkably, most of the scribes were of noble origin.

The office of the castle voivode in Yazlovets, where Teodoryk lived, seemed to belong to the list of personal officials.³⁶ Only one person, named Bylyna, has been known so far to hold this office. In 1441 he was called the burgrave (*Bylyna Burgrabius de laszlovyecz*),³⁷ and the voivode in 1445 (*Bylina Woyeuoda in laslouyecz*).³⁸ His career can serve as a perfect illustration of various types of cooperation with Teodoryk of Buczacz. Probably he is Bylyna from Lubnicz (*Bilina de Lubnycza*), an official from Lyadava, who received some lands in Lyadava in 1440/41³⁹ and paid 60 hryvnias for the village of Serebryya in 1442.⁴⁰ The connection of Bylyna to the Buczackis is supported by the results of an inspection in 1469, according to which Lyadava belonged to Teodoryk's son Michał.⁴¹ In 1441 someone called Bylyna received 100 hryvnias from Jan and Michał of Buczacz for the village of Konyushky.⁴² The same Bylyna gave Teodoryk of Buczacz the villages of Lyadava, Kindyntsi, and Serebryya in Kamyanets County on April 24, 1444⁴³—all the landholdings he had received from Władysław III in Podillya. Bylyna, without mentions of his occupation or place of origin, sued Petrylovsky, a nobleman, in 1446.⁴⁴ In 1451 Petro Bylyna witnessed the document of the District Court of Halych.⁴⁵ Numerous references to one of the personal officials reveal the whole range of the servant's activities. The fact that Bylyna granted his patron the villages he had received from the king is highly curious. It is hard to tell why he made such a generous gift to his patron. Probably, it was caused by Teodoryk's desire to enlarge his landholdings in

³⁵ Ibid., vol. 7, № 72, 139.

³⁶ Teodoryk indicated Yazlovets as his permanent residence (*domo habitacionis castri lazlowecz*): AGZ, vol. 12, № 2053, 179.

³⁷ Ibid., № 951, 97.

³⁸ Ibid., № 1526, 138.

³⁹ AGAD, AZ, sygn. 32, s. 934–35.

⁴⁰ ZDM, vol. 8, № 2419, 222.

⁴¹ "Bona Regalia," 62.

⁴² AGZ, vol. 12, № 943, 96.

⁴³ AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, sygn. 8245.

⁴⁴ AGZ, vol. 12, № 1656, 147; № 1690, 149.

⁴⁵ Ibid., № 2566, 223.

that part of the Podolian Voivodeship. However, this transaction demonstrates that the starosta of Kamyanets was so powerful that he could even convince Bylyna to relinquish his possessions.

The largest group of the Buczackis' clients and servants consisted of the representatives of the Buczackis' interests in courts, the administrators of their estates, and those who received villages for rent from them. One can learn about this group from the documents of the District and Castle Courts of Halych, since there is a lack of similar sources regarding the Podolian Voivodeship. The facts that the Buczackis owned estates in the Halych land and that these books often include documents related to the Podolian Voivodeship make this source relevant.

Thanks to the preservation of the Halych courts books, the earliest of which is dated to 1435, many servants and clients of the Buczackis can be identified. They include large numbers of their representatives, administrators, and tenants. For instance, their representatives in courts consisted of noblemen only and received villages from the Buczackis, which implies that they belonged to their clientage. A nobleman Paweł from Petryliv (*nobil. Pa[ulu]s de Petrilov*) represented Teodoryk's interests in the District Court of Halych in 1453.⁴⁶ On January 21, 1459, he, though called Paweł Petrylovsky (*nobili Paulo Petrilowsky*), received from Michał of Buczac, the starosta of Kamyanets, the villages of Snovydiv and Kosmyryn (*villas Snowidow et Coszmirzyn*) for 60 hryvnias; later, on February 19, the starosta mortgaged the same villages for more than 100 hryvnias. In another document, these villages were mortgaged for two years for 100 hryvnias.⁴⁷ Therefore, the client or servant of the Buczackis appeared to be a source of cash for his patron. Serving the Buczackis, Petrylovsky had a considerable amount of money, as he had lent 260 hryvnias of Polish coins over two years, having received Snovydiv (20 kilometres from Yazlovets) as collateral. Probably, thanks to his comfortable financial position, he was appointed the lord of the army of Chervonohrod in 1471, as a royal servant and client of the Buczackis.⁴⁸

The aforementioned village of Snovydiv seemed to be a source of cash for the Buczackis. Before Petrylovsky received it, the village was given to other servants and clients of the family. In 1456 Jakub and Stanisław from Belzets asked Bartosz to be their guarantor. Consequently, they received Snovydiv from Michał Mużyło, and divided it.⁴⁹ Then, on December 2, Jakub and Stanisław from Zakovychi (*Iacobo et Stanislae de Zacowycze*) gave 100 hryvnias to Michał Mużyło as a loan for Snovydiv and 100 hryvnias to Bartosz for the village of Medvedivtsi,⁵⁰ near Buczac. In 1457 the starosta of

⁴⁶ Ibid., № 2705, 235.

⁴⁷ Ibid., № 2898, 260; № 2907, 261; № 2912, 262.

⁴⁸ Maciej Wilamowski has assumed that there was an office in Podillya, similar to *wojski*, that existed there only due to the constant risk of Tatar raids; see Wilamowski, "Powstanie i początki hierarchii urzędów ziemskich województwa ruskiego i Podola: Z dziejów elity politycznej pierwszej połowy XV wieku," *Roczniki Historyczne* 64 (2002), 109.

⁴⁹ AGZ, vol. 12, № 2771, 242–43.

⁵⁰ Ibid., № 2778, 245.

Kamyanets vouched for the brothers one more time.⁵¹ As is known, Jakub and Stanisław had owned Snovydiv until 1459, when Paweł from Petryliv took over. However, most likely he lost the village in 1472, or earlier, since Jan Szczakowski from Bełżec (*nobili Iohanni Schakowski de Belszyecz*) was mentioned in the sources as an administrator in Snovydiv in 1472,⁵² whereas Tomasz Wolski was indicated as its owner.⁵³

Many examples show the peculiarities of service to the Buczackis. The registry books of the Halych land in the Ruthenian Voivodeship include dozens of cases covering the persons above. The spacious estate of the Buczackis required a high number of clients and servants to maintain it. They, as the Petrylovskys, became connected to their patron after receiving titles to lands. This connection and the personal qualities of servants enabled them eventually to shift their rank of servants to the status of clients, as exemplified by the office of the *wojski* (lord of the army) of Chervonohrod.

The Buczackis interpreted the law in their own particular way, as evidenced by a document written in 1465. Michał Mużyło of Buczac, holding the positions of the castellan of Kamyanets and the starosta of Snyatyn at that time, granted his servant Dynysh (who had served since 1453) and his son, also named Dynysh (*Dynysch familiari suo et filio ipsius Dinisch*), the village of Drunivtsi on the Rudka River in Halych County for 100 kopas; he also granted his servant Franciszek the village of Dzhuriv in Snyatyn County for 200 kopas.⁵⁴ Franciszek also received Volchyyovtsi, a barren area in Snyatyn County, from Michał Mużyło on December 23, 1456. This assignation of Michał Mużyło is similar to the practices of loans for up to 50 hryvnias in the area, which were the exceptional prerogative of the starosta general of Kamyanets thanks to Władysław III's privilege (1442).⁵⁵ This example is noteworthy because the Buczacki family applied the privilege not only in the Podolian Voivodeship but also in other areas where they held offices. Despite occupying the office of castellan of Kamyanets, Michał Mużyło of Buczac had no rights to grant royal lands, since only the starosta general of Kamyanets had permission to do this.

The Buczackis mortgaged their estates because they needed loyal people to hold critical positions, and not only in the Podolian Voivodeship. For instance, the district judge of Halych, Hnat from Kutyschi, received the city of Borschiv with the village of Dunaiv for

51 Ibid., № 2840, 251. Here they are named as noblemen Jakub Zakowski and his brother Stanisław from Bełżec.

52 Ibid., № 3548, 3555, 345, 346.

53 Ibid., № 3555, 346.

54 Ibid., № 3228, 3229, 301. Dynysh the Elder had been the servant of Michał Mużyło since 1453 (*nobili Denusch suo servitori*), when he received a part of Bilobozhnytsya for 60 hryvnias: *ibid.*, № 2548, 220.

55 Ibid., № 3262, 306. The Act of Michał Mużyło was added as the document of the District Court of Halych. The document was witnessed by Stanisław of Chodcza (voivode and starosta general of Kamyanets), Jan from Daleyov (chamberlain), Jan from Bolshov (sword-bearer), Jan from Martyniv (steward of Halych), Zawisza from Hnylcha, Nykel from Novoselytsya, etc. They were all, except for Stanisław of Chodcza, relatives (Jan from Daleyov, Jan from Martyniv), servants, and clients (Zawisza from Hnylcha, Nykel from Novoselytsya).

100 hryvnias from Michał Mużyło of Buczacz in 1453.⁵⁶ Holding the position of judge for thirty-four years (1437–1471), he had credibility in the eyes of the local noblemen.⁵⁷ He was probably even a client of the Buczackis, since the brother of Michał Mużyło, Michał of Buczacz, was the starosta of Halych from 1414 to 1436.⁵⁸ There were many cases heard in the District Court of Halych at that time. Obviously, to have good relations with a judge was a good strategy. Was the granting of villages to Hnat from Kutyschi a form of bribery? Probably, but it is difficult to answer the question on account of the lack of sources.

Another marker to identify servants, clients, and collaborators of the Buczackis is the documents of Teodoryk and his son Bartosz. There are twelve documents of Teodoryk of Buczacz that he signed as the starosta general of Kamyanets from 1442 to 1455. Unfortunately, not all of them include the lists of witnesses. Nevertheless, the documents with names of witnesses demonstrate the clientage of the Buczackis, including their clients, servants, and noblemen who had close ties to the family. Documents that should also be considered evidence of the Buczackis' clientele circle are the following: the documents of the Kamyanets court, from 1444 to 1449, concerning the starosta; and the document by which Teodoryk of Buczacz founded a parish in Yazlovets, his private city, in 1436.

Thus, the witnesses of the latter document included the following persons: the bishop of Kamyanets, Paweł from Bojancyce; Domarat from Śladków; Bartołomej from Bliznow; Mikołaj from Poznań; Jakub from Rybicz (*Iacobo de Rybicz*); Tomasz Kotskowicz (*Thoma Kotskowicz*); Sławek from Górka (*Slawcone de Gorki*); and Wolesław from Kontrowo (*Woleslao de Kontrowo*).⁵⁹ Although the presence of a Catholic bishop witnessing the document is noteworthy (not to mention that there were a few Catholic parishes in the Ruthenian lands of the Polish Kingdom),⁶⁰ the background of others is quite diverse. Domarat from Śladków was a famous person in Podillya. Having arrived in the early 1430s from Łeczyca, he was the chief official in the newly emerged Podolian Voivodeship (see Chapter 10): he was mentioned as the first district scribe of Kamyanets in 1439.⁶¹ Bartołomej from Bliznow was the first to be appointed to the office of the lord of the army of Kamyanets (the next time this office was mentioned in sources was only in 1471) in the fifteenth century.⁶² The case of the lord of the army of Kamyanets is similar to the case of the lord of the army of Chervonohrod when Paweł from Petryliv was mentioned as a person occupying this office in 1471 (see above). The others have not been mentioned in the documents from Podillya and Halych so far.

⁵⁶ Ibid., № 2550, 221.

⁵⁷ *Urzednicy województwa ruskiego*, № 291, 62.

⁵⁸ Ibid., № 330, 66.

⁵⁹ AGZ, vol. 2, № 60, 196.

⁶⁰ For the Catholic Church in Podillya, see Trajdos, "Kościół Katolicki na średniowiecznym Podolu," 11–168.

⁶¹ "Domarati de Sladkow terrestres notarii": Kurtyka, "Z dziejów walki," 112.

⁶² *Urzednicy podolscy*, № 666, 150.

The document dated 1450 was witnessed by the following persons: noblemen Pavlo Nyescha (*nobilibus Paulo Nieszczza*), Mikołaj Michałowski (*Nicolao Michałowski*), Petro Neshovych (*Petro Nieszowicz*), Syma Mytovych (*Symma Mythowicz*), Senyuta Verbovetsky (*Suentione Wierzbowiecki*), and a scribe named Senko (*Sienkone notario nostro*).⁶³ Senko, a scribe, was mentioned in the sources in 1450–1452 (see above). Pavlo Nyescha, Petro Neshovych, and Syma (Semen) Mytovych seemed to be members, according to Mykhailo Hrushevsky, of the local boyar families. The first records about these families were made during the rule of Vytautas over Podillya,⁶⁴ which is evidenced by the loan of 50 hryvnias of Podillya half-groschens from Yesko Neshevych for Yaropolkovo Dvorysche barren lands in 1427.⁶⁵ Senyuta Verbovetsky is probably Senko from Verbovets (*Sienko de Vierzbowcze*), who received the villages of Verbovets and Litnivtsi in Kamyanets County in 1439.⁶⁶ The only person who has not been identified is Mikołaj Michałowski, since neither he nor his surname has been mentioned in Podolian documents of that time. Therefore, five witnesses out of the six were local boyars. Despite the limited sources (there are witnesses in the documents of Bartosz Buczacki), the Buczackis were thought to have surrounded themselves with the members of local middle class and poor nobility.

A document from the year 1454 includes the following witnesses: a nobleman, Stanisław from Konarów (*nobilibus Stanislao de Konarzew*); Pavlo from Potystivtsi (*Paulo ... de Potistowce*); Mikołaj Furman (*Nicolao Furman*); Stanisław from Volkovtsi (*Stanislao de Wolkowce*); and (?) from Puntrivtsi (?) (*Brigono de Pu[n]otrowce*).⁶⁷ One of the witnesses, Mikołaj Furman, is already known, as is the Stanisław from Konarów, who was probably a relative of Jan Fiol.⁶⁸ There are also an unknown Pavlo and Stanisław from Vovkivtsi. All of them most likely were the servants of Teodoryk of Buczac.

The entourage of Teodoryk of Buczac can be observed in a document of the District Court of Kamyanets dated May 30, 1449, in which the court confirmed that Jan from Zarvanytsya, along with Teodoryk of Buczac, the castellan of Kamyanets and the starosta general of Podillya, bartered his inherited village of Popovtsi ("in Podolian land in Chervonohrod district at the Dzhuryn river": *villam Popowce in terre Podolie et*

⁶³ АЮЗР, pt. 8, vol. 1, № 12, 18–19.

⁶⁴ Грушевський, *Барське старосттво*, 189–90. He attempted to identify the family ties of the Mytko family and the Neshovychi family.

⁶⁵ *Vitoldiana*, № 109, 100. In 1442 Hnat Neshovych received from King Władysław III the village of Yurkivtsi in Kamyanets County: *ZDM*, vol. 8, № 2430, 233–34.

⁶⁶ *ZDM*, vol. 8, № 2213, 41–42.

⁶⁷ AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, sygn. 7314.

⁶⁸ Jan Fiol from Konazov (Konarov) received two privileges from Teodoryk of Buczac in 1444. According to the first, he was allowed to change Vhuchkivtsi for Boblyva Krytnytsya barren lands situated between the villages of Orynyn, Zinkivtsi, Sukhodambye, and Pudlivtsi after paying 50 hryvnias (Грушевський, "Матеріали," № 41, 182–83). In the second privilege, he was granted the village of Nyzhnya Berezna, Khmilnyk County, for 50 hryvnias (*ibid.*, № 42, 183). In the letter, Jan Fiol is called *sluzhebnik* (serviceman), which implies that he belonged to the starosta's entourage. He was mentioned for the first time in 1439, in Władysław III's privilege for Vhuchkivtsi, Khmilnyk County, mortgaged for 100 hryvnias (*ZDM*, vol. 8, № 2201, 31–32).

districtu Czyrwonogrodiensi super fluvie Dzurzin) with Kostelnyky.⁶⁹ The following persons witnessed this document: Borsz from Kocina (*Borsche de Cocina*), Jan Ugrowsky (*Iohanne Ugrowsky*), Domarat from Balyn (*Domaratho de Balina*), castle judge Jan (*Iohanne iudicæ castri*), Marasio from Sybylovtsi (Shybylovtsi) (*Marassio de Sybilowce*), and Jan from Buchina or Byczyna (?) (*Iohanne de Bucziny*?). Among them, only castle judge Jan, Domarat from Balyn (or Domarat from Śladków), and Borsz from Kocina belonged to the inner circle of the starosta. Domarat and Borsz have frequently been mentioned in the records along with Teodoryk.

The witnesses of the Castle Court of Halych document dated March 12, 1453, can also be regarded as partners of the Buczackis. Judge Hnat from Kutysche and the deputy judge, Ścibor from Vasyuchyn, confirmed that Teodoryk of Buczacz granted Mykola Troyanov from Voytivtsi the villages of Yazlovche and Bubenychi in Halych County for 60 hryvnias. The document was witnessed by a nobleman, Zawisza from Hnylche (*Zauissio de Hnilcze*); Stinasław from Zavalov (*Stanislao de Zaualow*); Jan of Buczacz (*Iohanne de Buczacz*); Jan Spicznik (*Iohanne Spicznik*); and Konrad from Kunashov (*Cunrado de Cunaszow*).⁷⁰ They all, except for Teodoryk's son Jan of Buczacz, appeared in the documents of the District Court of Halych concerning the Buczackis from the 1450s to the 1470s.

The documents of Teodoryk's son Bartosz of Buczacz demonstrate a similar range of district officials. On January 5, 1456, Bartosz granted a nobleman, Illya Chernelevych, the village of Illyashivtsi for 20 hryvnias. The noblemen Jakub Jaworski (*nobilibus Jacobo Jaworski vaiewoda*), Paweł Szufarski (*Paulo Schufarski*), scribe Mikołaj from Piaszczyce (*Nicolao de Piaszczece notario*), Petro from Polystovtsi (*Petro de Polistowce*), Sakhno from Shandriv (*Sachnone de Schandrow*), and Hrytsko, the son of Olifer (*Hrynczone Oliphieronis filio*) witnessed the document.⁷¹ Undoubtedly, the castle voivode and the scribe were clients of Bartosz. Regarding Mikołaj from Piaszczyce, the editors of the Podolian officials list identified him as the district scribe of Kamyanets, assuming that he had been either the castle scribe or the personal scribe of the starosta.⁷² As he was mentioned as the district scribe (*notarius terrestris*) in 1483⁷³ for the last time and died in 1491,⁷⁴ he was likely to have started his career as a personal scribe, as someone called Mikołaj mentioned in the sources in the year 1445 as the personal scribe of Teodoryk.⁷⁵ However, a forty-year career seems to be too long, though possible. I tend to think that they were two different persons.

69 AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, syng. 7307.

70 AGZ, vol. 12, № 2568a, 223.

71 АКОЗР, pt. 8, vol. 1, № 14, 21–22.

72 *Urzędnicy podolscy*, № 322, 83.

73 MRPS, pars 1, № 1592 (“... Nicolaum notarium terrestrem ...”). He has been identified as Mikołaj from Piaszczyce due to a mention in Pohorecki's catalog; see below.

74 Feliks Pohorecki, *Catalogus diplomatum bibliothecae Instituti Ossoliniani nec non bibliothecae Pawlikowianae ubde ab anno 1227 usque ad annum 1505* (Lwów: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1937), № 264, 91: “Johannes filius Dobeslai haeredis de Pyassczicze et filiaster olim Nicolai de Pyassczicze notarii terrae Podoliae generalis ...” (emphasis added).

75 AGZ, vol. 12, № 1513, 1514, 136.

Historians have overlooked one important aspect of Mikołaj's career, namely his occupation of the office of district scribe and the office of Ruthenian vogt (city administrator of the Ruthenian parts of Kamyanets) in the mid-1470s, which was quite an unusual combination (Mikołaj Giba/Hebda occupied similar positions),⁷⁶ confirming his Ruthenian origin. We know about this from a copy of the document included in the Kamyanets Registry Book of 1560. On August 25, 1475, the district judge of Kamyanets, Zygmunt from Novoselytsya, and the deputy judge, Jan from Boryshkivtsi, confirmed that the nobleman Mikołaj from Piaszczyce, the district scribe and Ruthenian vogt of Kamyanets (*nobilis Nicolaus de Pyasnicze notarius terris Camenecen[sij], et aduocat[us] iuris Ruthenoru[m] in Camieniecz*), granted Anna, the daughter of Jan Weluński and the granddaughter of his wife, a house near Pyatnytska Church.⁷⁷ This example when one person combined two offices and served as both the vogt and the scribe demonstrates that Podillya in the fifteenth century lacked educated and literate people. Moreover, the risk of living on the dangerous border did not contribute to an increase in the number of local noblemen, or to population growth in general.

Another example that illustrates the range of collaborators, clients, and servants of Bartosz is the list of witnesses in a document dated September 18, 1456. Bartosz of Buczacz sold his village Hmelyova to Oleksandr or Govorko. The document was witnessed by two Podolian district officials—Mikołaj, the chamberlain, from Novoselytsya and Paweł Szczukowski, the master of the hunt—as well as Michał from Humentsi, Jerzy from Moksa, Hrytsko from Orynyn, Stanisław from Lyvkiv, and Mikołaj Furman.⁷⁸ Jerzy from Moksa (Muksha) and Mikołaj Furman had belonged to the clientage of Teodoryk of Buczacz since the 1440s.⁷⁹ Others were probably partners of Bartosz of Buczacz, since they were neither their servants due to their status, like Kierdey or Michał from Humentsi, nor the clients (Kierdey was definitely not a client of Bartosz) of the Buczackis.

Another document with the list of witnesses is the document (written in late 1456) according to which Bartosz of Buczacz granted Mikołaj Bedrych from Bedrychovtsi (the future castellan of Kamyanets; see [Chapter 10](#)) the villages of Kuzmyn and Novosilka for 20 kopas of Podillya half-groschens. The list of witnesses consists of the chamberlain of Kamyanets, Jan Łaszcz; Zygmunt Kierdey from Orynyn; Hrytsko Kierdey from Orynyn;

76 The starosta general of Kamyanets, Teodoryk from Buczacz, appointed the scribe of Kamyanets, Mikołaj Giba (Hebda), the vogt of Khmilnyk and Dumniki village in Khmilnyk County for 50 hryvnias. Casimir IV's transsumpt, May 30, 1488: AGAD, AZ, sygn. 32, s. 983.

77 Leon Białkowski draws attention to this document in his study of Kamyanets in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: "Ze wschodu i zachodu," in *Pamiętnika Lubelskiego Towarzystwa przyjaciół nauk w Lublinie*, vol. 1 (Lublin, 1929), 19n2. There is a citation from the copy in ЦДІАУК, ф. 39, "Магістрат м. Кам'янець Подільського воєводства," оп. 1, спр. 2 "Актова книга за 1554–1563 pp.," арк. 206.

78 AGZ, vol. 4, № 92, 165.

79 About Mikołaj Furman, see above. On October 22, 1444, Jerzy Granczybrodycz from Moksa (Muksha) received permission from Teodoryk to occupy the village of Dovzhok on the Smotrych River near the castle of Kamyanets and several villages, a field, and a forest, for 50 hryvnias: AGAD, AZ, sygn. 32, s. 936–37.

(indistinct) from Orynyn; Michał from Humentsi; Olekhno Yarmolynsky; Słabosz from Vakhnivtsi; and Michał from Podfilipy (?).⁸⁰

Therefore, the clients, servants, and collaborators or partners of the Buczacki family occupied the low-ranked district and castle offices and belonged to the middle-class and poor nobility, and local boyars who pursued the patronage of some members of this powerful family. Even Mikołaj Bedrych, the future castellan, from a rich family from the Podolian Voivodeship, was the client of the Buczackis. However, clients such as Mikołaj Bedrych and families connected to the Buczackis by blood seemed to belong to the external clientage category.⁸¹

The Buczackis had tremendous resources; they could put up their villages in the Podolian and Ruthenian Voivodeships as collateral, and they also held a number of key offices, among which the starosta general of Kamyanets took pride of place. Having started a career as an administrator of their estate, a representative in court, or a castle official, an individual could make a successful career while enlarging his estate thanks to the mortgaging of royal lands in Podillya. These benefits of service to the Buczackis and their patronage were the centre of gravity for those living in Podillya or trying to settle in the contested borderland. I can assume that the other members of the Buczackis likewise formed their own groups of clientage, exploiting them for their personal needs.

The prominent families of Podillya, such as the Kierdeys and the Odrowążes from Sprowa, also had their clientele circles, but, unfortunately, almost nothing has been discovered about them because of the lack of sources. Another reason for the lack of validated information is that they did not occupy the office of the starosta general of Kamyanets for as long as the Buczackis did.

The formation of the clientele circles in Podillya, as well as in other Ruthenian lands of the Crown, took place among the class of noblemen. The distinguishing feature of Podillya was that the people who were the centres of gravity for the local noblemen were not the local nobility but the newcomers, because the locals had not owned any estates or occupied offices in Podillya until the fifteenth century. Then, in the 1420s, the Buczackis began forming their vast estate in Podillya. Pro-Crown activists who had played a significant role in the incorporation of western Podillya into the Crown, the Buczackis were the primary beneficiaries of royal favour in the region, resulting in their appointments to several critical offices along the border of the Polish Kingdom. Since 1442 a large estate, offices, and the exclusive authority of the starosta general of Kamyanets had been factors in favour of their establishment of the most potent clientage in the Podillya Voivodeship. Not only did they manage to accumulate considerable sums of money, but they also received the entire Chervonohrod County as their own property for a long time, until the seventeenth century.

⁸⁰ ЦДІАУК, ф. 37, "Кам'янецький земський суд," оп. 1, спр. 2, "Актова книга за 1534–40 рр.," арк. 112 зв.

⁸¹ See more in Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота*, 169–74.

A peculiar feature of the Buczackis' clientage was that it did not entirely consist of Podolians. However, the clientele circle of the Buczackis was the largest and the most powerful in the Podolian Voivodeship in the fifteenth century. The turnover of persons serving the Buczackis in the Ruthenian lands of the Crown and the Podolian and Ruthenian Voivodeships was caused by a joint 150-year "history" of living in one state, the Kingdom of Poland, as well as the large number of family ties, not to mention the fact that the offices and estates of the patrons were not limited by administrative units. The case of the Buczackis serves as the best illustration of this.

To the local and non-local noblemen of Podillya, collaboration with a powerful family allowed them to obtain an estate or to administer several villages of a patron after becoming his servant and then a client. As a next step, with the Buczackis' patronage, they could have been appointed to a court office, which would enhance their status and give them a chance of career development for their heirs. Successful socialization in Podillya, the easternmost province of the Polish Kingdom in the fifteenth century, depended on the choice of a patron. To the foreign (newcomer) nobility, serving the Buczacki family was probably one of the best ways to become a Podolian, while the locals had a unique opportunity to receive royal favour using the Buczackis' patronage.

CONCLUSION

WITH THESE PAGES, this book and the story it tells come to an end. The emergence of a new region on the contested border with the steppe at the very eastern boundary of Europe at that time was one of the outcomes of the battle between settlers and nomads in the late medieval period. Podillya or Podolia, the new name on the map of the European continent, became one of the few areas where, for a few hundred years, specifically from the middle of the fourteenth century through the late eighteenth century, the imaginary East, having retreated at the beginning, in all sorts of ways tried to remind the putative West of the impossibility of peaceful coexistence. Nowhere else in Europe had the steppe moved so far to the west, and nowhere else had European farmers moved so far to the east.

The establishment of this region seemed not so consequent given the previous history of the area and European realities, because, starting from the middle of the fourteenth century, this land uncontestedly belonged to the nomads. Coming afar from the north, the Koriatovych brothers took advantage of the weakness of the Golden Horde, undermined by civil war and the Black Death. They took the territory under their control and gained control over important trade routes running through this part of the world. In such a way, the lands between the Dniester and the Dnieper Rivers moved into their domain. New cities started to emerge along the routes running northwest from the Black Sea, and from Cherkasy in the east and Terebovlya in the west. They became the centres of the castle districts. The Koriatovyches were not alone in their intent to take advantage of the situation, which facilitated the establishment of new regions and new states. The same circumstances fostered the creation of the Moldavian Principality in the interfluvium of the Dniester and Prut Rivers.

Having established the Podolian Principality in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Koriatovych brothers could not manage it without close ties to the western kingdoms. Their vassal relations with the Polish King Casimir III the Great and later with his successor Louis I of Hungary ensured the existence of Podillya on a very contested and dangerous borderland. Having borrowed the Western governance system, granting rights of self-governance to the German community of the city of Kamyanets, allowing Kraków merchants to trade in the principality, establishing a Catholic diocese, and engaging the first newcomers from the West as their allies, the brothers facilitated the introduction and affirmation of Western practices at this territory. To some extent, the almost forty-year-long rivalry between King Władysław II Jagiełło and the Great Duke Vytautas contributed to the success of these endeavours.

The following history of the region only strengthened and sharpened these practices, when in 1434 the Podolian Voivodeship was established as the easternmost province of the Polish Kingdom and Europe of that time. If the intellectuals or travellers of that time had attempted to find the eastern boundary of the European continent or their civilization, it

would be in Podillya that, moving eastward, they would notice how a familiar world faded out and the New World took shape under their eyes. Such a scenario takes place only in our imagination, not in the realities of the second half of the fourteenth century and the fifteenth. The best orientalists—or, to phrase it better, experts in the nomad world—resided right here, in Podillya, as the locals knew the nomads, communicated with them, fought with them, and became relatives with them. One of the brightest examples is the history of the Kierdey family. Without such cross-cultural mingling, people's lives and the history of the region would have been impossible. No fence divided the farmers and the nomads; instead, an imaginary wall managed to separate the Podolians themselves.

The partition of the historical Podillya in the 1430s caused an almost 140-year-long segregated existence of the once unitary land. This is also a peculiar phenomenon that took place in this part of Europe. Here, political preferences created an invisible wall, which separated the people residing on either side of it and made them call each other *lachy* ("the Poles") and *litwiny* ("the Lithuanians"), respectively. And, while the Lithuanians remained subjects of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Poles gradually became a political nation, the nobility, who by the end of the fifteenth century had developed the practices of communicating with the king that, in the next century, led to the formation of a civic democracy.

The example of Podillya provides a broader context and sheds a new light on the relations of the settled population with European legal traditions, with the dissemination of Western norms strongly affiliating at least part of the region with the Polish Kingdom. The new law, new administrative offices, and—the most important—new people turned into a force that shaped this region as one of the largest and most successful European frontiers of the late medieval and early modern ages. As in the other European regions, the locals hardly differed from people residing in the rest of the Christian world. Podolian nobility, both local and newcomer, consolidated around powerful magnates, and the members of the Buczacki family become the most desirable patrons. The emerging Podolian clientele groups did not differ from clientele circles in other parts of Europe, even from such distant regions as mountainous areas of Scotland. However, nowhere else in the Middle Ages can one find such an open frontier, which ran almost from the Baltic Sea in the north all the way to the middle reaches of the Dnieper River in the south. Nowhere else did such a large number of people participate in subjugating territories on the controversial border. Perhaps these are the features that make Podillya a unique historical region.

It took Podillya 150 years to become a historical region. In the new century, the sixteenth, this region was associated exclusively with the name it had used starting from the second half of the fourteenth century. The first maps marked "Podillya"/"Podolia" as the easternmost province of Europe. At that time the Podolian Voivodeship of the Polish Kingdom played the role of a specific military camp, or even a proving ground, where noblemen from Ruthenian, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, and German lands served at the border, met, and got to know each other and the Tatars from the other side of the border. Some of them started families with the locals, and after a while became Podolians. But this is already a different story about a turbulent and contested borderland in the sixteenth century.

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